Third Achievement

ROCKVILLE CENTRE



January, 1923

LONG ISLAND, N. Y.

# Should a YOUNG MAN Study POLITICS?

By Henry Ford

Publisher of The Dearborn Independent Dearborn, Michigan

Should a young man study Politics? Yes, if he will make up his mind what Politics are to be twenty years hence. To study today's so-called politics would be waste of time-they are obsolete. Politics, in the true sense, have to do with the prosperity, peace and security of the people. What has the county or state committee to do with these things? How much has the prosperity of the country been advanced where Government has touched the things pertaining to it? The Politics of tomorrow will deal directly with these things. Politics will become an administration of the people's affairs in the people's interest. If a young man wants to fit himself for the Politics of tomorrow, let him fit himself into essential industry for the purpose of learning how best to conduct it for the whole public good.

 ${
m A}$  BOY'S magazine is urging, with commendable foresight, that the boys of the present generation "make poli-tics their job." That is the slogan, "Make Politics Your

Job." It is stimulating to think of the results to the country if the growing generation should really go in for an intelligent interest in public affairs. But it must be plain to every one that this counsel should be amplified.

There was a time when this advice was not needed by young men. They were all informed, all interested, all active in the public affairs of the country. Politics was a citizens' affair. It was as much a part of common life as was daily work; no one thought of politics as a separate profession. People did not "play politics," to use a modern expression; they thought politics and acted politics and were sincere about politics.

What changed all this? It was the coming of the thing that we today know as "politics" which drove the people out of Politics, and gave the very word an ill odor. Politics is the business of living together as a nation, in prosperity, peace and security. Just how that business can be

counted vile or unimportant, no one can understand. It must be that the thing which has come to be known as "politics" is not really politics at all.



MR. FORD IS NOT IDLE, EVEN AT HOME

This is a matter to be clearly understood when we advise boys to study politics. Leaving the name aside, what is it that we wish them to study? Everybody has a feeling that the advice is right in part, but there is a hitch in it. If it means that boys should study the methods of the local precinct boss, or the inside philosophy of the county committee, or the mechanism of deals between candidates and "interests"; if it means that boys should understand the gentle art of getting the men without a conscience to do what men with consciences will not do, though the men with the consciences are the beneficiaries; if it means that boys should study the whole system of the scramble for paltry public clerkships which are supposed to carry a little "po-litical power" with them -then it would be just as well to oppose that advice. But, of course, that is not what is meant. Yet this is what comprises a large part of practical

Page four

# The COUNTRY EDITOR

Vol. I No. 3

NEW YORK, N. Y.

January, 1923

# Dr. ELIOT Favors the STRIKE

T is error in high places, not the heresy of the masses, that endangers the race. The latter perhaps may be corrected through the medium of education. There is a way out, a straw to grasp at, and we are free to hope that enlightenment will correct the misapprehensions of ignorance and eventually make clear to the masses the imperishable verities.

But in the presence of the former we stand dumb and despairing. For error that develops in the pursuit of knowledge, that exists notwithstanding the advantages of the fullest information, is an appalling, a fatal disease. If with knowledge we cannot win wisdom, what hope is there for us? We are, like the Christian without charity, as sounding brass and tinkling cymbals.

Perhaps, however, we may be unduly pessimistic. It is doubtless too much to expect that our savants, at least, should be free from error. Indeed, future generations may look upon our present day leaders of thought with much the same indulgence as we of to-day contemplate those high authorities who some centuries ago refused to believe that the earth was not flat.

Now if one were asked to name the leading savant, the most distinguished educator of our country and generation, one would naturally think of Charles W. Eliot, a man whom one would least expect to fall into serious error.

# Dr. Eliot Mistakes the Strike

So we are surprised to read in his recent article in the New York Times the statement that for three generations labor has fought its way to better pay and better conditions of family life by means of the strike and that the strike was the only effective means of resisting oppression of labor by capital.

How has the strike bettered conditions of family life? Neither Dr. Eliot nor any lesser or greater authority can dispute the fact that the strike has increased the cost of production.

This has been accomplished by enforced idleness during the strike, by increasing the cost of labor and by shortening the hours of work.

Let us consider these three factors in the increased cost of production.

There are constantly large numbers of men on strike. They are non-productive. During their period of idleness, and if we disregard the changing personnel of the strike, the period may be considered continuous; they are worse than useless to our economic machine, more useless, indeed, than the most useless inanimate object, for the striker, in addition to being unproductive, continues to be a consumer. Not only is the world poorer by what he fails to produce; it is poorer also by what he consumes. He is a two-edged sword. He cuts both ways.

The greater the quantity of goods that are produced, the lower will be the cost of living and the easier will be the struggle for existence. And he that produces most is entitled to consume most.

# Factors of the Strike.

The second factor, created by the strike in the increased

cost of production and therefore in the increased cost of living, is the higher price of labor. And this factor is aggravated by another inevitable consequence of increased compensation to the laborer, namely, a deterioration in the quality of the work. No competent observer surely will be blind to the inferiority of the present craftsman as compared with his prototype of fifty or even thirty years ago; and this inferiority, this unmistakable retrogression, is the direct result of the strike and the labor union, which have destroyed competition among the workmen, have destroyed the incentive to superior workmanship by destroying the reward which in former days it received.

The third factor, created by the strike—the shortening of the hours of work—by diminishing production, has increased the price of the product. Much, of course, has been said to the effect that shorter hours tended to increase the efficiency and volume of production. A strange fallacy!

If a man will produce more in eight hours than in nine, he must produce more in seven hours than in eight, more in six than in seven, and eventually if he didn't work at all he would produce more than he would produce in nine hours' work.

I wonder what the future generations will do, how they will express themselves, when they read some of the things that are solemnly written, and, indeed, are sincerely believed by those who solemnly write them. Will they split their sides laughing or will they simply ignore us as a generation of simpletons whose doings and writings it would be a waste of time seriously to consider?

#### Facing Stern Facts.

Dr. Eliot would probably undertake to establish the fact that the laborer's wages increased faster than the cost of living was increased by the increased wages, and that in this way the conditions of family life have been bettered.

But how can this be? The manufacturer must make a profit on the cost of labor as well as on the cost of the raw product. The jobber, the middleman and the retailer all add another profit. By the time the article, having completed its course through the channels of distribution, reaches the consumer (in which class the laborer is comprised) the price of the element of labor in it has perhaps been doubled. Even in the most elementary raw product, the element of labor, by the time the product reaches the factory, is one of the chief price-controlling factors. How much more, therefore, does it control the price of the manufactured product!

The surest way to increase the cost of living and aggravate the struggle for existence is to raise the price of labor. Every advance in its price, every shortening of its hours, makes the necessaries of life harder to get, places them more out of the reach of the poor.

To say, therefore, that the strike, by raising the price of labor, has bettered the conditions of life is a statement that no economic fact will support. The conditions of life have been bettered in spite of and not because of the strike, and the proof of this lies in the fact that in those countries. [Continued on page 28

It is well that mind-reading be not too extensively applied, or else what splendid reputations would shortly be demolished! Third Achievement

**ROCKVILLE CENTRE** 



January, 1923

LONG ISLAND, N. Y.

# Let Us SMILE with the CONFIDENT SMILE of INTEGRITY

By Caroline T. Pilsbury, Editor "Boston Ideas" .

 $T_{
m HE}$  Integrity of the American nation is its redeeming principle. The spark of Divine Life at the heart of the Cause which gave it birth is still brightly burning on the altar of its deepest realizations. And we can heartily agree with Dr. Teasdale Randolph, Editor-in-Chief of The Country Editor, when he says: "The Country Editor of the United States of America

holds the political and material destiny of the Great Republic in his linotype or his composing stick. \* \* \* He is priest, prophet, preacher, printer-the four-square Fourth Estate-and, with his constituents, constitutes the determining factor in the integrity of America."

\* \* \* \* \* \*

The Integrity of America! What a splendid theme to dwell upon! It is the Keynote of Destiny's Purpose for our wonderful republic. In it is involved faithfulness to the ideals that gave this nation birth; loyalty to the institutions that uphold its inherent principles.

And who, individually and collectively, representswith sturdy calmness and persistency-this national Integrity more positively than does The Country Editor? We know of no one.

#### \* \* \* \* \* \*

When you speak of a Country Editor, there immediately come into your mind two characteristics that mark him out from the midst of all others: conscious or unconscious humor-the spontaneous way in which he treats the every-day doings of his readers; and pathosthe equally spontaneous way in which his readers or non-readers treat him, making life a burden or a joy according to the degree to which adequate exchange takes place.

\* \* \*

Wholesome and human is the Country Editor-direct of speech, ingenious in the use of the personal element, and very much alive. He is sufficiently aware of the power inherent in his calling to make him feel responsible to his readers for the politics he voices-and he voices it vigorously if occasion demands.

Balance and common sense are two points that make him interesting-especially in the present generation, when irresponsibility and incompetency are so prevalent.

\* \* \* \* \*

The modern Country Editor has come to be so sophisticated that it would be difficult to identify him with the old-time type-except for the same sound heart common to the species, independent of times and seasons.

Speaking with the Efficient Voice which its editor aims to guarantee for it, the large scope and the concentrated purpose of this new magazine will enable it to become a remarkable influence toward constructively upholding the Integrity of our nation.

\* \* \* \* \* \*

Dr. Randolph is one of those seasoned journalists and printers whom the past twenty years have not produced in abundance; so we are sure that the future of this broad-minded and versatile journal is destined to thoroughly justify its admirable beginning.

Individuality has a better chance to speak with soundness' in such a vehicle as this, and we are very glad of its advent.

As "A Forum of Constructive Expression to Promote American Ideals and Institutions" it has a large field to represent; but it will surely attract that concentrated attention which deals with *Essentials*, and ultimately bring the scattered thought of the country to realize the Point of Things through seeing something definite toward which to converge.

#### \* \* \* \* \*

The Country Editor fills a salient need, and appears on the scene with a smile and a handshake destined to warm the hearts of the thousands who have for years been exploring the scrap-heaps of modern human interests for bits of mutual kindness and understanding.

It is more useful to know the kind of a life a man leads than the church he attends.

#### A LUMP OF DOUGH (Continued from page 26)

and murderer. I am going to get the doctor and the sheriff."

After the excited female disap-peared, Cecil came to with a smile on his face, and with his assistance Gladys quickly recovered, not before, however, Cecil confided to me that if he had swelleved that hum of during he had swallowed that lump of dough it would have given him indigestion the rest of his life, and he did not have the heart to tell Gladys. "What did you do with yours?" he

"In my pocket," says I. "What be-came of yours?" "I sunk mine," says he, "in my tea."

But the damage had been done, as the whole neighborhood was in an uproar. The late arrivals were the doc-tor, the sheriff, and both parents, and the closing scene was featured by the parental blessing. When I arrived at the office I was

asked:

"Did you get a story?" "I sure did," says I, "but not the one you sent me after." "What did you get?" said the Editor. "A h—l of an experience and a lump of dough," says I. "Then write about it," says the ed-itor.

itor.

I did, and the story appeared just as I had written it.

I have tried to follow this principle in every assignment, for after all what else can a newspaper yarn be but the reporter's own version of it?



# The NEW YEAR and ALL of US

By the Editor

T HE COUNTRY EDITOR enters upon the New Year of 1923 "with malice towards none, with charity for all, and firmness in the right."

The magazine has made a distinct impression in the new and unoccupied field which it has entered.

From every part of the United States Country Editors have written to it, most of them inclosing checks for annual subscriptions.

These checks, often without any word accompanying, are the silent symbols of the fraternity of the Countryside and the Metropolis.

Numbers of our fellow editors have written warm words of appreciation. A few have raised interrogatory issues. On other pages of this issue will be found some of these expressions.

Questions of moment, vital to the welfare of America, have been presented in our columns by able and in some cases Nationally and Internationally known writers.

Some of these, because of their great importance and acute popular interest, have caused wide comment.

This is in keeping with THE COUNTRY EDITOR'S fundamental rationale.

More and more, and constantly without fear or favor, problems affecting the welfare of our beloved America will be discussed in these pages.

We want our brethren of the Fourth Estate throughout the Countryside to feel emphatically that this magazine is theirs—their spokesman, their forum.

We purpose to be loyal to them and to their interests and the interests of their constituents. This will be one

# DR. ELIOT FAVORS THE STRIKE

(Continued from page 3)

whose economic systems have been most greatly dominated by unions, conditions have been the slowest to improve.

# To Work or Not to Work.

With the main issue of Dr. Eliot's article, namely, compulsory arbitration in the disputes between labor and capital, whose decisions are to be enforced by the Government, I will not now concern myself except to remind the distinguished writer that to force a man or a body of men to work when they do not choose to work is closely akin to slavery and is as abhorrent as is the practice of the closed shop which denies a man the privilege of working when and where he chooses and for the wages and under the conditions he may see fit to accept.

The remedy is to be sought by a different road, but we must cease from believing that a theory or doctrine or procedure is sound simply because it has received the sanction of Government, has become established, and has been endorsed by high authority.

Dr. Eliot proposes the prohibition by law of the strike in all industries which deal with the necessaries of life. I would go further,—prohibit the strike altogether and reestablish the following forgotten principles of social and political life:

The right to work or to stop working is an inalienable one.

No right exists, on the other hand, to agree with others to stop work at a given time when the agreement is among a sufficient number to secure through coercion benefits not

Page twenty-eight

magazine issued from the Nation's chief Metropolis that will ring true always.

We have nothing to sell to our brothers and sisters of the Fourth Estate excepting our magazine.

One California editor, inclosing \$2 check for yearly subscription, says: "I'm surrounded with countless newspapers and magazines that I get in exchange or for a trifle; and yet there are two that I prize,—one I get for nothing, coming weekly,—and the other a small monthly magazine that I cheerfully pay \$4 the year for. Why?"

THE COUNTRY EDITOR is glad to be in this discriminating editor's list of preferred publications.

This magazine has attracted the attention of the Metropolitans also. In several instances it has been ordered in large quantities by admirers wishing to broadcast some of the special articles that it has published. This is heartening.

It has had attention also from the Metropolitan Press, and in consequence is receiving many inquiries and yearly subscriptions. We are grateful to our brethren of New York City and elsewhere. They are helping us; they are a spur to our cash register. This is splendid service.

THE COUNTRY EDITOR is not the organ of any sect, creed, clan, political party or commercial organization. It is free, absolutely free,—and unafraid.

The New Year is before us,—all of us. It gives token of being an eventful year in American history. THE COUNTRY EDITOR hopes to be a humble and honorable factor in that history.

To our fellow Americans everywhere, greetings! Our New Year's wishes cannot better be expressed than in the toast of Tiny Tim: "God bless us every one."

otherwise obtainable, for such a right would be eqivalent to the right to effect a conspiracy for the purpose of blackmail, or at least to the establishment, extrajudicially and independently of Government, of *le droit de plus fort*.

No right exists to bargain collectively, since such a right would be equivalent to the right to conspire to secure benefits by blackmail or by the threat to employ, extrajudicially and independently of Government, *le droit de plus fort*.

# Open Market for Labor

No right exists to control the price of labor either through organization of employers to depress the price or through the organization of the employed to advance or maintain the price. One is as much a combination in restraint of trade as is the other.

There can be no free and open market for commodities unless there is a free and open market for labor, which is the important element in every commodity.

The maintenance of competition among the employed is as great a bulwark against communism as is the maintenance of competition among the employers. It is only when competition is stifled through autocracy either on the part of the employers or on the part of the employed that communism raises its head.

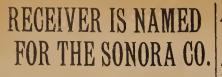
In our attempts to arrive at an adjustment of the complexities of our modern life we have wandered far afield and have strayed into untried and perilous paths, and it were well now if we had a look at our compass and took accurate account of our whereabouts before pursuing any further our venturesome journey.

0033 73

30

FINANCIAL.

JAins



Minority Stockholders File Peto Conserve Assets tition of Phonograph Concern.

#### WANT OUTPUT INCREASED

Out of Action Takes Business Hands of Committee of Bank Representatives.

On the application of minority stock-holders, Judge Edwin L. Garvin, in the United States District Court, Brooklyn, States District Court, Brooklyn, yesterday appointed former Representa-tive John B. Johnston as receiver for the Sonora Phonograph Company, Inc., of Oyster Bay, L. I. The application was made on behalf of Mrs. Susan V. Ketcham of Philadeiphia and Mrs. Florence Rumburgh of Jost Scriptor Ketcham of Philadelphia and Mrs. Florence Rumbough of Hot Springs, N. C. Mr. Johnston was directed to file a bond of \$50,000.

a bond of \$50,000. The receiver was asked for "in order tion cording to the petition filed, which states that the concern is solvent, but that recent business depression has resulted in cancellation of many orders, and that a receiver is desired to reor-ganize the finances of the corporation and to continue the business.

and to continue the business. The appointment of Mr. Johnston authorizes him to take immediate possession of the company's properties and to conduct the business until further order of the Court. It also takes the management of the business out of the hands of a committee composed of representatives of banks. The petition for a receiver is the result, according to the applicants, of the usurpation of their right to divest the stockholders of the company on the part of the company and an attempt to divest the stockholders of their right to vote in the affairs of the company have been sold at a small proportion of their cost, which, it is alleged, has limited the production of Sonora phonographs so that at the present time the demand. The company is capitalized at \$6,000,-000. The company is capitalized at \$6,000,-0. George E. Brightson is President. ດດຄື

1

A E

K **†**] 2 m

r R

W n n a C

te or E

# HEADS LEAGUE LABOR BODY.

### Adachi of Japan Elected at Opening of Geneva Conference.

GENEVA, Oct. 22.--M. Adachi of Ja-pan was elected President of the annual conference of the International Labor Bureau of the League of Nations at the opening session today. A large number opening session today. A large number of women were present, both as dele-gates and spectators.

gates and spectators. The conference received a protest from the Italian Labor Federation against the designation of Edmondo Rossoni as representative of the Italian workmen because, they pointed out, he is Secretary of the Fascista Working-men's Syndicate, which includes both employers and workmen. W. H. Cameron, Managing Director of the National Safety Council of the United States, addressed the conference on "Actident Prevention in America." on Invitation of the League-"The quickening interest of employers, of Governments and of this great body [the League of Nations], devoted to the solution of world problems, is a most encouraging sign." he sald. "With the co-operation of these forces great strides in accident prevention are possible. I firmly believe that the time is not far distant when accidental death and seri-our injury in industry will be the ex-BI La t 1

# A. C. BEDFORD DEFENDS **'BIG BUSINESS' ETHICS**

# Tells Philadelphia Presbyterians 95 Per Cent. of Operations Are Aboveboard.

Special to The New York Times. PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 22. - The methods of big business interests are generally misunderstood, Alfred C. Bed-ford, Chairman of the Board of Direc-tors of the Standard Oil Company of New York, told the Presbyterian Social Usion toucht a charge the

Union tonight at a banquet here. Speaking on "Business Ethics"

Union tonight Speaking on "Business .... Bedford said: "For the most part, business men in this country are not credited with hav-this country are not credited with hav-ing ethics. They are damned if they do, ing ethics. But ing ethics. They are damned if they do, and they are damned if they don't. But that is because the public does not understand the underlying motives of the business man of the country today. "I venture to say that 95 per cent. of the business that is transacted in this country could be done in the open and

it would be found to be entirely above-board. Business itself is being regarded more and more as a profession guided by high inteliectuai and moral ideals.

more and more as a profession guided by high inteliectuai and moral ideals. There was a period not long ago when business was charged, with the rall-roads, of charging what the traffic would bear. But today the rule of ruthlessness is giving way to generosity. Increasing responsibility is being felt by business men for standards that more closely approach the Christlan ideal. "Much of the conruston today between the Government and business is because, we are in the transition period. The people have not yet wakened up to the fact that big business can no longer concern itself with solely selfish meth-ods. It must aim to give service and to be great in giving service. In time the forces of public opinion and enlight-enment of public consciousness will stimulate to improvement interference will diminish as business is based on higher standard of business ethics." Ciaude A. Simpller, trust officer of the Land Title & Trust Company and Chair-man of the Unions Outlook Committee, attributed a faling off in church at-iendance to poor preaching, indifferent music and lack of welcome at the church doors.

# STATEMENT ISSUED TO THE CHRISTIAN PEOPLE OF AMERICA BY THE WORLD ALLIANCE AT ANNUAL MEETING IN PHILADELPHIA, PA., NOVEMBER 13-15, 1923

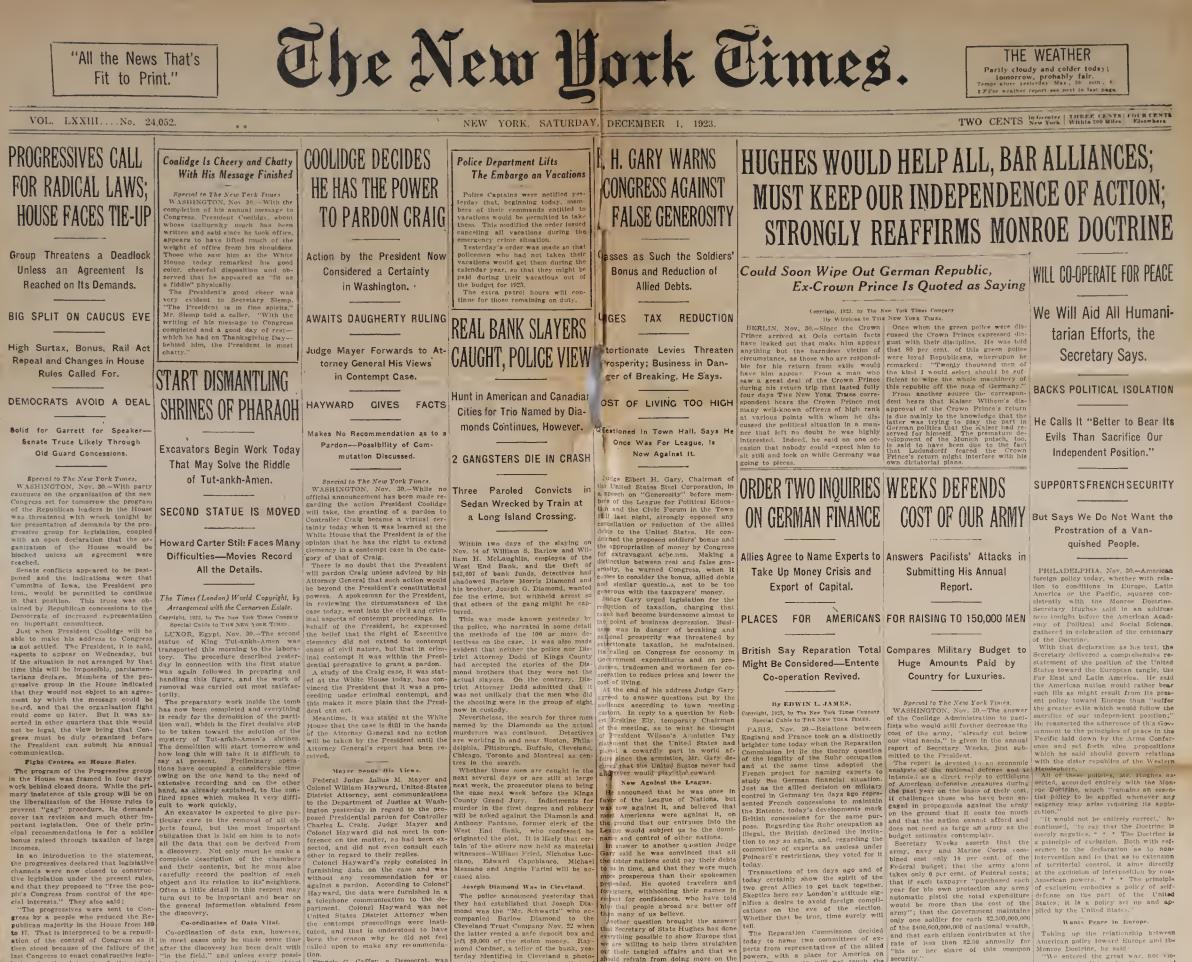
\_\_\_\_\_

W E, the 500 delegates assembled at the Annual Meeting of the World Alliance, for International Friendship through the Churches and representing, we believe, the convictions of the Church at large, desire to put ourselves upon record to the effect that the time has come for the United States to assume bold, confident leadership in the rescuing of our present civilization from chaos and in establishing a new world order based upon justice, co-operation and good-will. Selfish nationalism and the basing of our civilization upon force plunged us into 1914. The world is rushing again toward the same precipice and our nation is doing nothing to avert the impending calamity. We argue details of covenants and who shall elect judges to a Court while Europe starves, selfishness rules, militarism rises again, gross injustices are practised, the nations arm, and force reasserts itself in the rule of life.

Against this isolation on the part of our nation we solemnly protest. We believe it un-Christian and we believe it makes of no effect the sacrifices of the boys whose idealism we have just been commemorating. We believe the time has come for the United States to lay aside all selfishness and timidity and take her place in the councils of the nations. We believe all problems, especially those we helped to create, in Europe and Asia, are OUR problems, and our place is where they are being solved. We believe the United States has been called to serve the world, and should again manifest that sense of mission to which it rose in the war. We deprecate and condemn all talk of "America first and only" whether proceeding from the Senate or the market place. We believe that upon America rests the obligation to co-operate in the high endeavor to save the world and build a new order wherein dwelleth righteousness.

To this end we demand, in the name of the American Church, that the Senate of the United States take immediate steps to make our nation a signatory power to the Court of International Justice. We respectfully petition the President of the United States to continue the crusade begun by our lamented President Harding to this great end. We believe, that, to stand outside the Court, violates our whole American tradition. We believe it also violates the will of the American people.

This act having been accomplished, we call upon the Senate of the United States immediately to begin the study of how the United States may find entrance into the League of Nations or find some substitute association to which the other nations will agree. The churches have stood for it from the beginning. They stood behind Mr. Wilson. When Mr. Harding became President they offered their support to him in a belief absolutely justified both by his words and those of his associates that America would take her rightful place in the family of nations. The Church's high expectations have not been fulfilled and we believe the Senate of the United States owes it to these millions of Christians to fulfill them. We cannot sit still and see the other nations of the world vainly striving to realize the common life while we stand apart and by our absence cripple their endeavor.





## FACTS, FIGURES AND WEEKLY NEWS

Supplied by the FRENCH BUREAU OF INFORMATION

IN THE UNITED STATES

598 Madison Avenue (57th Street) New York City

Bulletin No 30 December 24th. 1923.

Tel. Plaza 0027 Plaza 0028

For immediate Release

# THE PEACE CONDITIONS WHICH GERMANY CALLED AT A TIME

### "VERY MODERATE"

On May 7th, 1918, as he was about to sign the Treaty of Bucharest which ruined and enslaved his country, Mr. Missir, Dean of the Bucharest University, was so deeply moved that tears ran down his face, and one of the German delegates, Mr. Kriege, consoled him with these words:

"You will appreciate German moderation in the case of Rumania, when you know what conditions we have prepared for France and England. You will know then what a hard peace really is."

Mr. Kriege, chief of the Third Section of the German Foreign Office, knew what he was saying. Being one of the most distinguished German jurists, he was accustomed to weigh his words, and there is no doubt that Germany, if she had been victorious, would have imposed upon the vanquished the hardest and most inhuman peace conditions. This is what everybody knows about Germany's intention.

In 1911, three years before the war, Tannenberg, who was considered as the mouthpiece of the "Alldeutsch Verband", (pan-Germanic Union) stated in his famous book "Gross Deutschland" (Larger Germany), that Germany would win the next war against France and would annex the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, Switzerland and a part of Eastern France extending nearly as far South as the river Seine. The French population of these regions was to be deported and their land given to German settlers.

That such a plan was not a mere dream appeared obvious when it was submitted to Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg, in May 1915, by six of the largest and most influential German associations: League of Farmers, League of German peasants, Central Union of German Industrialists, Industrialists' League, Union of the Reich's Middle Classes and Federation of Christian Associations of German peasants. In their appeal to the then German Chancellor, those associations advocated the annexation of Belgium to the Reich, and the taking over by German industrialists of all Belgian enterprises. Concerning France, the petition said that it was absolutely necessary to take away from her, her Northern coast, down to the river Somme, with a large "hinterland", including all Channel ports; then, the mines of the Northern districts and of Lorraine together with a territory up to the Meuse including Belfort, Verdun, etc. Besides, Germany was to exact a "sufficient indemnity" and to make "large annexations" on the Russian side.

Later on, in July 1917, the "Congress of the German Fatherland", passed a resolution stating that Germany's war aims ought to include:

Annexation of Courland, Livonia, Lithuania, Esthonia;

Frontier "rectification" at Poland's expense;

Annexation of the coast of Flanders and the establishment of a German protectorate over Belgium;

Annexation of French North Eastern territories so as to give Germany the iron-mines of Longwy and Brioy;

Frontier "rectification" on France's side, so as to annex the territory of Belfort and the region West of the Vosges mountains;

Annexation to the German Empire of British and French colonies;

A large war-indemnity.

Mr. Erzberger, the well-known German politician who belonged to the Center party, in a memorandum dated August 1914 and published in a Munich newspaper of April 9th 1919, gave out the following outlines of the peace conditions which Germany should dictate:

Establishment of German military sovereignty over Belgium and the northern coast of France down to the harbor of Boulogne (on the British Channel);

Annexation of the Anglo-Norman islands in the Channel, of the Lorraine iron-mines and of the territory of Belfort; large territorial conquests in Eastern Europe, so as to cut off Russia from the shores of the Baltic and Black Seas;

A War Indemnity.

On the last point, Erzberger explained that "THE TEMPORARY FINANCIAL IMPOTENCY OF A NATION IS NOT A DECISIVE FACTOR IN DETERMIN-ING THE WAR INDEMNITY WHICH THE SAID NATION SHOULD PAY. FOR INSTANCE, FRANCE PAYING IN ANNUITIES, AND BEING COMPELLED TO SAVE MONEY ON MIL-ITARY AND NAVAL EXPENSES, WOULD BE IN A POSITION TO MAKE LARGE PAY-MENTS."

-2-

Erzberger's principle, by the way, fits exactly, in the case of Germany, the situation of today.

-

From the different documents mentioned above. one can safely assume that a peace dictated by Germany would have been infinitely harder than the Versailles Treaty. But a more decisive proof of Germany's intentions is afforded by the Treaty of Bucharest, the clauses of which are all the more enlightening because Germany's interest at the time that Treaty was imposed upon Rumania (March-April 1918), called for a show of moderation: At that time, the war situation did not point out to a decisive German victory on the French front; the Austrian-Hungarian Government had to acknowledge that their people were worn out; in Germany, the ammunition workers had gone on strike; and last but not least, American troops were pouring into France. In order to induce the other belligerants to come to terms, Germany's policy was to naturally take a comparatively conciliating attitude; so, it is safe to assume that in dictating her peace conditions to Rumania, Germany intended to be very lenient, "very moderate", as Mr. Kriege said to the Rumanian delegate.

Let us see what Germany did when she was in such a "conciliatory mood":

The Treaty of Bucharest (May 7th 1918) took away from Rumania the Dobrudja province-700.000 inhabitants and 8.000 square miles;

In the Carpathian district, through a "frontier rectification", 100.000 people of pure Rumania race and 3.000 square miles of territory with large forests and numerous waterfalls, were taken from Rumania.

Altogether 800.000 inhabitants and 11.000 square miles, representing over 10% of the population and over 18% of the Kingdom's area, were taken away from Rumania.

Rumania was to pay back in gold, all banknotes issued by the German authorities, that is to say, all counterfeit money printed in Berlin, and there was no limit fixed to such issues of paper-money. When the Austro-Germans were compelled to leave Rumania, the nominal value of those banknotes amounted to 2.300.000.000 "lei" (The "lei" has the same value as the French gold franc: about 19 cents).

Rumania had to promise to pay for the repatriation of Rumanian war prisoners: 2.500 "lei" for each officer and 1.200 "lei" for each private, and Germany put on her list many civilians who had been deported for work outside of Rumania, so that she claimed payment for 200. 000 men.

Rumania was to hand over to Germany all the equipment of the Danube ports; she had to pay a WAR IN-

DEMNITY of 750 millions 1 i and to reinburse all the German requistion notes, representing one billion lei.

The total financial obligations imposed upon Rumania amounted to about 7 billions "lei", an enormous sum for a small country rained by a war waged on her soil.

But that was not all. Besides the Treaty, there were annex conventions containing such clauses as had never been imposed before upon a civilized country. For instance: For seven years after 1919, an embargo was to be put upon the entire Rumanian agricultural production, including cattle, poultry, eggs, wool, etc. the Central Powers having an option on every one of those products (representing a total value of 3 billion lei) and the Rumanian people were to be allowed to dispose of their crops only after the German and Austrian authorities had bought what they wanted and at their own price. Rumania was not granted the permission to export anything without their good-will.

For 30 years minimum (and eventually for 90 years) Germany was to have full control over all the Rumanian oil-wells and to have a complete monopoly over the mineral oil of the country.

The Rumanian army was put under German control and its strength was to be strictly limited.

The Central Powers reserved to themselves the right to prolong at will their military occupation and to commandeer anything at the Rumanian Government's expense.

All Rumanian ministerial Departments as well as the police and the National Bank, were placed under the supervision of a German Commissioner.

German Immigration Societies had a right to enroll workers in Rumania-obviously to be replaced by German settlers. The Rumanian Government was compelled to promulgate a law of compulsory work for every man between 14 and 60 years of age, and any worker could be deported to any place at the discretion of the German authorities.

This last clause shows that Germany actually tried to put into force the barbaric plan devised for Belgium and France in Tannenberg's book and in the petition of the six German Associations.

When the Germans complain today about the "harshness" of the Allies and the "terrible clauses" of the Treaty of Versailles we cannot forget that, in the German mind, the peace conditions to Rumania were, according to our former encmies, "very moderate".

-4-

# GERMANY'S DEFAULT AND BELGIUM FINANCE

In his report on the Belgian budget for 1924, M. Theanis, Winister of Finances of Belgium, mentioned the fact that the expenses for restoration of the devasted regions had been advanced entirely, up to now, by the impoverished allied countries and not by the Reich.

Germany however could make some sacrifices, as her national debt including reparations, is not of the heaviest. It is, in fact, lighter than those of France or England, as is shown by the following table produced by Mr. Theunis:

United Kingdom - Debt on March 31st, 1923: 7.922.000.000 pounds storling (paper), or 693.606.000.000 Belgian francs, or 14.676 Belgian francs per capita.

France - Debt on April 20, 1923: 366.151.000.000 paper francs, or 430.044.000.000 Belgian francs, or 10.968 Belgian francs per capita.

Italy - Dobt on March 31st, 1923: 188,296.000.000 paper lires or 164.759.000.000 Belgian francs, or 4.243 Belgian francs per capita.

United States - Debt of June 30, 1923: 22.996.000.000 , dollars, or 441.523.000.000 Belgian francs, or 4.095 Belgian francs per capita.

Germany (not including reparations). Debt on September 30, 1923: 60.957.778.524.000.000 paper marks, or 4.267.000.000 Belgian francs, or 79 Belgian francs per capita.

Germany (Including reparations). Debt on September 30, 1923: 7.901.469.778.524.000.000 paper marks, or 553.104.000.000 Belgian francs, or 9.241 Belgian francs per capita.

Netherlands - Debt on January 1st, 1923: 3.563.000.000 gulden, or 25.972.000.000 Belgian francs, or 3.866 Belgian francs per capita.

Belgium - Debt on September 30, 1923: 39.907.000.000 Belgian francs, or 5.291 Belgian francs per capita.

Mr. Theunis stated moreover that the debt charge is 40 billion Belgian francs (paper), which is an enormous sum for a small country like Belgium. But, if the public debt budget is increasing, in spite of the splendid contribution of the Belgian tax-payer, it is because the Belgian Government has to advance the money owed by Germany. The financial restoration of Belgium would be actually accomplished if it were not for the debt-charge caused by Germany's default.

## A NEW FRENCH MISSION TO THE SAHARA DESERT

A mission composed of Lieutenant Estienne of the Technical section of the Aviation Service, Lieutenant Habel of the Geographical Department of the French Army, and the engineers of the Haardt-Audouin-Dubreuil mission, will leave this month to reconnoitre and draw the topographical plans of the shortest way across the Sahara desert.

The explorers will leave Beni-Ounif (an oasis in the region of Figuig-Southern Algeria) and will cross the desert through Adghar, Owallen, Tessalit, to reach the Niger River down to Timbuctu. They will return by way of Colomb-Bechar, terminal of the railroad which crosses the province of Oran (West Algeria).

The anticipated itinerary, if proven practical, will have a tength of about 1.80C kilometers (1130 miles), 300 kilometers (190 miles) shorter than all other Trans-Sakeran projected railway itineraries. Such a result, of considerable importance for the tracing of the Saharan railroad, will moreover make it possible, next year, to cross the desert in two days by air, and in less than 9 days by land; all that will need to be done to obtain such a result will be to establish two posts, one at the wells of Owallen, the other one at the Tessalit well, 400 kilometers (250 miles) North of the Niger River.

-000-

## IMPORTANT

On request the French Bureau of Information will gladly send you all general information and statistics they have on file about French affairs: political, commercial, industrial, financial, artistic, literary, scientific, maritime, military, naval, colonial, etc.

P. Rol Siming Co. Are 2 1926

# One Sure Road to Progress

By W. W. ATTERBURY, Vice-President Pennsylvania Railroad System

Human relations have come to assume greater importance than ever in our scheme for progress. Especially is this true of industry under enlightened leadership of both management and men.

One of the most promising developments is the growing realization on the part of both that their mutual interests are best served not by continual strife but by co-operative efforts.

This does not preclude honest differences of opinion. The latter are inevitable, but also capable of wholesome results.

What is required is an honest endeavor to compose differences as they arise. Generally they are due to lack of knowledge or misunderstanding of the facts or suspicion that the facts are not what they are represented to be.

Mutual trust, facts jointly established, and fair play in their interpretation and application offer a practical way of meeting differences of opinion. We have found this formula effective on the Pennsylvania Railroad, where these principles apply to human relations involving two hundred thousand individuals.

-From Collier's, The National Weekly.

You may take this Menu if you so desire

LUNCHEON Relishes Sliced Tomatoes 30 Celery 35 Olives 25 Soups Puree Jackson 35; Cup 25 Clam Broth, Cup 25 Consomme 35, Cup 25 Eggs Boiled, Fried, Shirred or Scrambled, one 25; Two 35 Omełets, (Two Eggs), Plain 50; Ham or Jelly 65 Combination Specials, (Please Order by Number) Broiled Salmon Steak, Hashed Browned Potatoes, 444 Carrots and Peas, Rolis, Tea, Coffee, Chocolate or Milk 1.00 Corned Beef Tongue, Boiled Potatoes, 445 New Cabbage, Rolls, Tea, Chocolate or Milk Coffee, 1.00 Ham with Oysters, au Gratin Potatoes, Fried 450 Lima Beans, Rolls, Tea, Coffee, Chocolate or Milk 1.00 Beef Steak Ple, Buttered Beets, Spinach, Rolls, Tea, Coffee, Choeolate or Milk 343 1.00 Sandwiches Cold Roast Beef 50 Fried Ham 35 Club 75 Fried Ham and Egg 50 Fried Egg 30 Grilled Lamb Chop 50 Sirloin Steak 1.50 Chicken, (Half) 1.25 Cold 50 Ham 75 Roast Beef 75 Assorted Cold M Potato Salad Served with Cold Meats if Desired Sardines 50 Ham 75 Assorted Cold Meats 1.00 Vegetables Spinach 30; with Egg 40 Peas 25 String Beans 25 Baked Beans 40 **Potatoes** Braised Sweet 30 Boiled 25 Mashed 25 French Fried 30 Hashed Browned 30 Salads Chicken 90 Lettuce, French Dressing 35; Lettuce and Egg, Mayonnaise 60 Lettuce and Tomato, Mayonnaise or Thousand Island Dressing 50 Roquefort Dressing 25 Bread Rye 15 Granatu . Whole Wheat Crackers 15 Boston Brown Vienna 15 Rolls 15 Crackers 10 Bran Muffins (2) 15 Boston Brown 15 Dry or Buttered Toast 20 Desserts Baked Apple with Cream 30 Grape Fruit 25 Raw Apple 15 Minde Pie 25 Virginia Fruit Cake 25 Figs in Juice 45 Ice Cream 25; with Wafers 35 Stewed Prunes 30 Marmala Hawaiian Pineapple 30 Preserved Strawberries 30 Marmalade 30 Pres Cheese and Crackers Imperial 30 Cream 25 Roquefort 40 Coffee, Tea or Coccoa (Pot for One) 20 Camembert 30 (Demi-tasse) 15 Instant Postum, Cup 15 Milk (Individual Bottle) 15 Malted Milk 20 Candies Assorted Chocolates, half pound 65 d 60 Playing Cards 50 Pulled Cream Mints 25 Chocolate Peppermints, half pound 60 Play Mineral Waters, Cigars, Cigarettes A Service charge of twenty-five (25) cents will be made for each person served outside of Dining Car. Pay only upon presentation of check; see that extensions and totals are correct. Passengers are requested to report any unusual service or attention on the part of the employees. This enables us to recognize the ex-ceptional efficiency which we wish to encourage in our service. D. N. Bell, Passenger Traffic Manager, Philadelphia, Pa. F. W. Conner, Passenger Traffic Manager, Pittsburg, Pa. H. H. Baker, Superintendent, Restaurant Service, New York.

May 16, 1925

617

Women, voicing a suspicion that expressions contrary to the highest ideals of loyalty and patriotism might be uttered, and saying that the women in her organization could have no part in a gathering that would "advocate in particular a reduction of the necessary defences of our country on sea and land, and in the air, or which is ultra-pacifistic in its ideals." Mrs Potts then proceeds to put nine questions to the National Council and upon the answers to those questions will depend the endorsement of the "patriots." Some of these questions are very interesting and significant and reveal to what extremes of silliness the professional patriots and militarists have been driven in their fright. For instance, the very first question asks if among the delegates there are any who are mentioned in the late R. M. Whitney's book, "Peace at Any Old Price,"-about as big a piece of twaddle as anything imaginable-as pacifists, internationalists or "advocates of weak defenses for this government." (This means any who even discuss the limitation of armament.) Again the question is put-does the International Council stand for any of these things? The fifth question asks, "Does your organization or any of its officers support the unmoral and unpatriotic Youth Movement?" Mrs. Potts should have used the word "immoral" for "unmoral," for the movement is full of the "moral" quality-brotherhood, coöperation, oneness of humanity, elimination of racial distinctions, other dangerous and immoral things from the point of view of the upholders of the old order. The sixth question is critical and unearths a terrible possibility, "How many of your officers are also officers of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom?" (One might have to sit in the same room with Jane Addams or Mrs. Villard if this point were not made clear.) The last question comes back to the one thing that frightens our militarists

and patriotic societies more than anything else—the discussion of armament

Speak is admit Room an radio for hortens

And so the fight goes on and it cannot be lightly treated or dismissed by jokes. The militarists at first were frightened. They have had some successes and are getting bolder day by day. They are bold enough to try to lay down the law to a group of most eminent women from all the world, met to discuss the things that pertain to humanity and peace. They go from protest to audacity. A while ago they insisted on building up armament for defense alone. In the same paper where Mrs. Potts' letter with its impertinent questions appeared, Admiral Rogers came out boldly with the assertion that the United States should arm for agressive warfare, the time might come when she would want to go out to make war. We quote his own words from his broadcasted speech and ask our readers to ponder them when they have recovered from the shock:

We may expect, therefore, that as our descendants fill up this land of ours, and existence becomes harder, they will lose some of the altruism which the ease of our circumstances allows us now to cultivate. As our growing numbers press more heavily on the means of livelihood, our view of war as an international struggle for national well-being will alter.

It is probable that, if our prosperity preserves our traits and those of our ancestry, it will put aside its present amiable policy and will arm to go out in the world to struggle aggressively against other nations for land and prosperity, subject only to the ability of other nations to protect their own. Provided always that we have not been struck down beforehand by some more ready people.

People who talk this sort of stuff are "patriotic." Women who meet to talk about world-brotherhood and world-coöperation, who believe that altruism might be the rule of nations, and who would build a new world based on the gospels, are "unpatriotic."

F. L.

# THE OBSERVER

[This page is devoted to a weekly letter recording the significant events and movements of the day from the Christian point of view]

# The Foreign Student in America

DO not know when I have read a more interesting report than that made on the foreign students in America by the Commission on Survey of Foreign Students set up by the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A., a volume of 325 pages; there is not a page that is not full of interest. The editors have rendered a really valuable service to the whole field of education, sociology, and religion. Particularly interesting are those chapters which quote and analyze the impressions that our institutions have made upon these fourteen thousand students as told in their own words. All the chapters are highly instructive, giving us, as they do, the story of student migrations through history; the backgrounds of these students who come to America; the influence of these students in their homelands as measured by watching their careers; the foreign student in our American colleges; the life of the women students; the survey of the organized efforts for foreign students—all this is interesting, but the chapters that every American will be most interested in are the two that give the foreign students' own estimate of our American institutions, life, customs, and religion. In the questionnaire sent to the foreign students, they were urged to express themselves with the utmost frankness and many of them took the questioners at their words. The result is that the American has, in this book, about as good a chance as he ever will have, to see himself as others see him, and these students are also very acute observers.

Many of these foreign students are either Christian or have studied in mission schools in China or Japan before they came. Very few of the Hindus or Near East students are Christian. The South American students are nominally Roman Catholic, although many of them show a tendency to independent religious thinking. (Mr. Yelton reminds us, by the way, that about eighteen per cent of these foreign students become Christian after their sojourn in America. This should be considered when reading the criticism of the Church and American Christianity, by the others.) The first thing one observes as he studies the answers given by these foreign students is that very few give the Christian Church their unqualified endorsement. Our weaknesses look greater to them because they have not the background to understand them and to qualify. Right at the beginning the Hindu students (and also the English) dwell upon the shock that comes to them from our lack of reverence, awe, and deep spiritual sensibility. They comment not only on our flippancy in religious matters, but evidently get the impression that when we go into church to meet God we slap Him on the back as we do Jim when we meet him on the campus and say, "Hello, old man, how goes it?" The Japanese do not dwell on this so much as do the Hindu brethren, but they have inherited the idea that business is not the chief concern of life and they cannot reconcile religious pursuits with the great emphasis we place upon the business-like management of organized religious life. The Japanese is never quite sure when he connects himself with our religious life whether he has gotten into a church or a shop. If one were to gather up the points in our religious life which come in for most serious criticism in these documents, he would find our sectarianism; discrepancies between our profession and our practice; the over-socializing of our churches, with the consequent loss of spiritual vitality; commercialization of management and methods; craze for numbers and popularity with the consequent lowering of the standards of the gospel; the frivolity and moral and religious irresponsibility of the young people in our churches.

The answers show that the last point is about the most discouraging of all to the foreign student. He has seen hitherto the serious and lofty type of Christianity prevailing in missionary communities, even among the youth. As Mr. Yelton says,

Perhaps the severest blow comes to the new student when he sees the apparent indifference of many American students to the Church and to certain forms of religious expression. Small wonder if he becomes confused and then dismayed and decides either that there is little attracting power in the church or that our youth are sadly missing the mark. Either conclusion is disastrous to his own thinking and shatters his confidence in organized Christianity. A heavy burden of guilt rests upon American youth, in college and out, whose apathy toward the church and Christian work and lack of concern for their own spiritual nurture, belie the high expectations of those who cross the seas for study here.

Next to this our sectarianism greatly puzzles these Eastern students. We know its historical antecedents and its justifications-at least in origin-but the foreign student sees it as a contradiction of that unity which he has understood was the heart of Christianity and the fond hope and command of its Founder. The answers show that students wishing to become Christians because of their conviction that the teachings of Jesus are the right rule of life are perplexed as to "what church to join" and it is something of a blow to some of these students who are already Christians and who have seen Christian unity in real and successful operation on the mission field, to come to America and find that it cannot be practiced in a Christian country. Another thing that perplexes these students is the fact that Christianity seems so often to be in disrepute in the land that sends the missionaries to their homes. They have become Christian in China or Japan where each one of them is perhaps only one Christian in a great community of non-Christians. He looks forward with eagerness, almost fervid longing, for the time when he can become a part of a community wholly Christian. He is sometimes so disillusioned upon his arrival in America that he almost loses his faith. He finds himself in a land where a fourth of the people never go to church at all; where another fourth are indifferent; where another fourth go to church but are luke-warm about religion, putting their work and pleasure above their religion; and where only one fourth are real enthusiasts and devotees of the faith. He even finds some of his teachers are not pronounced believers, and, as we saw above, finds the average college and college student quite unconcerned about religion. The Chinese students, who are very astute, frequently come back to the fact that "the campus life in the larger educational institutions in this country, generally speaking, is non-religious."

I cannot further dwell upon this matter now, but I hope Mr. Yelton will allow CHRISTIAN WORK to reprint some of the quotations from the Chinese and Japanese letters found in the chapter, "The Attitude of the Foreign Student toward Christianity." They will be found very illuminating and contain much food for thought. (The book itself can be obtained from The Associated Press, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, for \$1.75.) I wish to close this letter with a quotation from a British student on an entirely different matter, namely, education. Where have you read a better contrast between the British and American ideals of education than in this paragraph?

The student not only gets something different, but he expects something different. In England you go to the university to *develop* yourself, while in America you go to the university to *distinguish* yourself. There you News Letter No. 2 RECEIVED

MAR 2 9 1926

March 27, 1926

# What Som MEducators Think of Military Training in Civilian Schools and Colleges

Harry A. Garfield, President, Williams College Winfred Ernest Garrison, Professor, University of Chicago Morris R. Cohen, Professor, College of the City of New York Shailer Matthews, Dean, Divinity School, Chicago, Illinois George A. Coe, Professor, Teachers' College, Columbia University Arthur E. Morgan, President of Antioch College, Ohio Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus, Harvard University John Finley, former State Commissioner of Education, New York, now an editor of the New York Times Dudley A. Sargent, Late Director Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University

# OUT OF HARMONY WITH AIMS OF COLLEGE

# HARRY A. GARFIELD

### President Williams College

I do not favor military drill in the colleges. As a means of cultivating alertness of mind and self-control, athletic games are superior to military drill. Any one of the regular games played at our colleges requires a wider range of mental activity, a greater degree of accuracy, and far more quickness than is required in military drill.

Military drill is out of harmony with the aims of college. The Military drill is out of harmony with the aims of college. The aim of the college is to train men for citizenship by discovering and developing the best and highest intellectual powers of each, to the end that each may make the largest contribution to the common welfare. The aim of military drill, as above stated, is to train men in the use of a particular implement, to the end that citizens may defend their country by force of arms. But defence of country is not confined to force of arms. Our first line of defence is enlight-ened citizenship. Our second line of defence is collightened civiliza-tion and so is our third. Civilization has interposed many lines tion, and so is our third. Civilization has interposed many lines between its outer boundaries and the first line of military force, and it is the supreme task of the college to bulwark these advanced positions of civilization. Therefore, I say, let our colleges keep to their great tasks, and let our young men learn the art of the soldier where it can be better taught than in our colleges.

# THE MILITARY TRAINING GOLD-BRICK By WINFRED ERNEST GARRISON

Among the pedagogical gold-bricks which are offered for sale on a large scale, none presents a more attractive glitter or contains a smaller proportion of precious metal than the military school of secondary, or college preparatory, grade. What I have to say on this subject I hope can be said without any implication of disrespect for the many conscientious educators who are engaged in this form of activity many of whom L know well and record highly. Nor for the many conscientious educators who are engaged in this form of activity, many of whom I know well and regard highly. Nor do I speak from the pacifist stand-point or without some knowledge of military drill as conducted both in schools and in the army. During the war I took the most active form of military service that I could get (which I mention without pride, for it was not much), and I think I could still drill a battalion with fair efficiency. Personally, I like military drill. There is a certain aesthetic satis-faction in taking a small mob of recruits who do not know how to do anything collectively except to stand around and get in each other's way, and molding them into an organized body which can fall in, do "Squads right, squads—March!" and move off in an orderly column, and then do "Squads left, squads—Halt!" and present a straight company front. But the educational value of the process and of all that goes with it is a close approximation to zero. I want to try, very simply, to tell why.

#### Cardinal Virtues

The three cardinal virtues which are supposed to be inculcated The three cardinal virtues which are supposed to be inculcated in the boy by military training are obedience, promptness, and order-liness. These are expected to become fixed as "habits." Certainly in a good military school, as in the army itself, one is required to be obedient, prompt and orderly. That is to say, he is required to be so while he is under discipline and subject to penalty for an infraction of the rules or disregard of orders. If these or any other moral qualities (assuming that these are moral qualities) could be

so effectively drilled into a boy that they would become part of him, and available for use under all conditions, the military method him, and available for use under all conditions, the military method might have merit in so far. But the truth is that one does not acquire dependable habits in that way. It is no particular fault of the military system but simply a psychological fact that habits learned by routine practice in one field cannot be successfully trans-planted to another field. People do not acquire a generalized and universal habit of promptness by being required under penalty to fall in promptly when the bugle blows. Neither, for that matter, does a public school teacher learn to be prompt in meeting social engagements or in getting to church before the invocation by be-ing compelled to be at her school desk promptly five mornings in the week. Learning promptness as a habit means learning to be prompt in specific situations, and habits hold good only in situa-tions which are essentially similar to those in which they are formed. So the boy who learns the "habit of promptness" under the highly artificial conditions of nilitary discipline has no habit of promptness under the normal conditions of civil life, because he does not find in it the stimuli to which he has learned to respond. it the stimuli to which he has learned to respond. So it is with the "habit of orderliness." He "learns to keep his

rifle and himself just so," when he has a definite pattern to conform to and an inspecting officer coming around in a few minutes and a few extra hours of guard duty to perform if his belt buckle is not but that has no relation to the way he will keep the papers on his desk when he gets his first civilian job. It is not his fault. He did not learn orderliness in general. He learned military orderliness in particular.

#### Obedience

In the more serious matter of "obedience," the same thing is In the more serious matter of "obedience," the same thing is true. It is not difficult to secure snappy obedience to a military com-mand. The order is precise and indisputable, and the penalty of disobedience or dclay is swift and certain. Moreover, the insignia of authority are ever before the eye. No soldier, in school or army, is expected to obey any order that does not come from someone who here more his precise the used of his right to give it. who bears upon his person the visible symbol of his right to give it. The whole hierarchy of military ranks, from corporal to general, and the entire system of military uniforms and the insignia of rank have this purpose. The function of a Sam Browne belt is to make the officer look like an officer—which is a social as well as a distization of the simple proposition, I am the man who has a right to give orders to you and the power to enforce them. For the purpose for which it was designed, this system is perfect. The work pose for which it was designed, this system is perfect. The work of an army would never get on if the sergeant had to argue with the private and the colonel to persuade the captain, or if either of them had to carry his commission with him and wait for his sub-ordinate to read it before he could expect his command to be obeyed. No, authority must not only be completely graduated in ascending ranks, so that every man shall know precisely who he can command and whom he must obey, but its tokens must be so constantly and obviously visible that the least instructed rookie, though a fool, need not err therein.

#### **Psychology and Experience**

While all this is an excellent device for teaching military obedience, it is no device at all for teaching obedience in general. Pre-cisely to the extent to which youth learns to recognize and obey military authority as embodied in officers properly identified by their uniforms and insignia, just to that extent does he unlearn the habit of obeying anything else. Civil authority means little to him, because he does not see in it the signals to which he has learned to respond. His habit of obedience was learned in a situation so unlike the normal situations of civilian life that it breaks down when he misses the accustomed stimuli. As well expect the paper-folder in a printing-office to fold napkins in a laundry or coats in a tailor's shop because it has "learned the habit of folding." This is not merely a matter of psychological theory, though I think it is sound psychology. It is also a matter of experience.

#### Discipline

For eight years I was headmaster of a school for boys. It was a non-military school. Discipline was rather a simple matter, because there was not much of the sort of thing that usually goes by that name—just a few "traffic regulations," as we called them, to keep us out of each other's way and to enable us to get the day's work done. On other matters we pooled our judgment and experience, of which some obviously had more than otners, and jointly decided what was best to be done. Often, though not always, the boys considered that my advice was good and followed it. Some of them, I think, are following it yet, which is more than they would be doing if it had been imposed upon them under penalty. I have always believed that the test of discipline, in school or elsewhere, is the way people behave when they are not under it. So there was a good deal of counsel, but there were not many commands. But the point is that during those eight years practically all the trouble there was about matters of discipline came from boys who had been in military schools. The poor chaps simply didn't see anybody to obey. There was nothing that sounded like the kind of commands to which they were accustomed. Nobody made a noise like an officer and there was not a shoulder-strap on the premises. It sometimes took them quite a while to learn that a friendly suggestion might have the moral weight of a command, and that someone the headmaster, for instance—might have considerable authority in a way even if he did not wear a uniform. Obedience is an overrated virtue anyway, chiefly valuable, like a fence at a precipice, to keep careless or headstrong people from doing themselves an irreparable injury before they have a chance to learn better. But where obedience is required in civilian life, as of course it is in very many situations, the command generally comes in an informal fashion, and the boy who has learned obedience only as a military virtue to be exercised in response to military orders from a person in uniform is badly

#### What Military Training is For

All this is no argument against military training in itself and for the purpose for which it is fitted. The purpose of military discipline is not the development of the individual. It is to weld individuals into a compact unit under the control of a single will for the accomplishment of a specific end. It would be a miracle if the system which has been devised for that purpose and gradually perfected through milleniums of warfare should turn out to be exactly the thing best suited to the making of intelligent citizenship and admirable character. The contrary is the case. It is as true of military training as it is of the use of it in combat, that the welfare of the individual is sacrificed to the attainment of a collective end, which may in fact represent not the common good but the will of a few at the top.

I think it may be edifying at this point to cite the testimony of an army officer who writes in the American Mercury for June, 1925, the following brutally frank words.

"An army exists to kill men, when ordered, in the nation's quarrel irrespective of its justice. It should train its men to that single end. If we object to any of our citizens thus specializing on murderous and un-Christian activities, we should abolish the army. If we want an army, we should recognize it for what it is. We should not tell lies about it being a school of citizenship or manual training, nor clutter up its drill-grounds with disciples of these irrelevant arts."

#### Physical Training

But at any rate military training gives the finest physical development! Nothing of the sort. It is a very poor form of physical exercise. The army itself knows this and does not rely upon its military exercises for building the bodies of its soldiers. The army and the military schools use forms of physical training which are as purely non-military as rhythmic dancing or skipping the rope. The old Butt's manual, now abandoned, was a series of non-military exercises done with the rifle used simply as a wand. The rifle was not a very good wand, because it was too heavy and did not balance well. The "Canadian P. E.," much used in the training camps and the S. A. T. C., was a rapid and rigid series of exercises done emptyhanded. The system of physical training outlined in the Infantry Drill Regulations has nothing military about it except the orders for getting the men into position to take the exercises. Every regiment in the army and every military school uses a system of body-building exercises which is no more military than the work of the gym-

nasium classes in a Quaker college. If military training is not good enough physical training for the army, it seems rather futile to argue that civilians must have it for the development of their bodies.

#### Youth and Maturity

It is interesting to observe, also, that the most successful general organization for boys from the standpoint of the development of both body and character, the Boy Scouts, has not a military feature. It was founded by Major General Baden-Powell of the British army. He knew.

Again it must be said, as a matter of simple justice, that there are some admirable men and competent educators engaged in conducting military schools. If a man really loves boys and understands them and has those contagious qualities of personality which inspire confidence, he can get good results even with the disadvantages of a military system. Those disadvantages, apart from the fundamental ones which have already been mentioned, are two. The first is that the formalities and artificialities of military rank and ceremony are a hindrance to the development of the sort of intimacy between the man and the boys which is the most potent factor in moral education. What Professor Faris calls the "spiritual isolation" of youth from maturity, which prevents the young from getting the benefit of the experience of those who are older and possibly wiser, and reduces the contacts between them to the terms of resented commands or unwelcome advice, is the most difficult element in the problem. Anything which tends to make these contacts still more formal and less friendly is an obstacle and not an aid to education.

The second is that military discipline for boys, just in the proportion in which it succeeds in accomplishing the only thing that it can be reasonably expected to accomplish, conceals its deeper failure. Highly specialized "obedience, promptness, and orderliness" under highly artificial conditions make a beautiful impression—while those conditions last. The boy learns that proper reactions to the military stimuli which cover his day from reveille to taps. How can anyone tell what he is thinking about inside? How can one judge of his possession or lack of the qualities which will make him an acceptable member of normal civil society? The teacher-officer is in the position of a physician trying to make a diagnosis of a patient encased in armor. Father and mother and Aunt Mary visit the school and witness a dress parade. The intoxication always produced by the orderly movement of masses of drilled men mounts to their heads. The glamor of the marching and wheeling battalion is counted to William for rightcousness. If William happens to be a cadet officer, so much the better for him. The twinkle of a long line of simultaneously bending knees and the gleam of the sun on serried ranks of rifles accurately right-shouldered seem to be the symbol of a great moral victory. To the proud parental eye, the fascinating evolutions of the battalion are the achievement of William. He is transfigured by its glory. The battalion, in fact, consists of WILLIAM—and others. But all this tells them nothing of any consequence about William; less than nothing, indeed, for it presents a gratifying illusion which, as always, blinds the eye to reality.

No, the development of the character of a boy is no such simple matter. Military training has no part or place in it. Military training has just one use—preparation for military service. And, as the army officer above quoted truly said, an army exists not as a school of citizenship but "to kill men, when ordered, in the nation's quarrel, irrespective of its justice." If the military school trains boys to do that, it is false to the ideals of education for normal civilian life. If it does not, it is false to the military ideal which it professes to embody and to the army which fosters it. Either way, it must traffic in gold-bricks.

Christian Century, March 11, 1926. Reprinted by permission.

\*

#### COMPULSION

#### PROFESSOR MORRIS R. COHEN

# Professor of Philosophy, College of the City of New York

To compel men to do things against which they have moral scruples is generally recognized as politically inefficient and morally evil. . . No matter how convinced college authorities may be of the justice of their course, they cannot afford to ignore or do violence to the moral sense of the majority of its students. For the feeling on the part of students that the authorities are exercising arbitrary power without moral justification kills the moral influence of the college.

### EDITORIAL IN THE VAGABOND

#### Student publication in Indiana University

"What students in other places are asking and what we are asking is not that the R. O. T. C. course be abolished, but that it be made optional, which is a reasonable request considering the fact that the attitude of the country on military preparedness is sincerely divided. We do not think that it is the part of the University to decide for all of the student body a question of a purely political nature which is nationally so strongly defended and opposed, so fortified by much that is right on both sides, and then proceed to impose that personal conviction on the students by the straight-arm method. . . Just because the course is compulsory does not condemn it. But when a course is made compulsory there ought to be no doubt in the minds of the educators as to its validity, which is not the case here."

## MIND-SET FOR WAR

#### SHAILER MATHEWS

### Ex-President Federal Council of the Church of Christ in America; Dean Divinity School, University of Chicago

Militarism is not only a system, it is an attitude of mind. It is a survival of days when men failed to see the might of the Spirit of Jesus and the good sense of love. Doing one another injustice, both intentionally and in ignorance of the laws of social welfare, they felt the need of soldiers to defend and enforce their policies. Thus history revolved in a vicious circle. Bad internationalism demanded military establishments, and military establishments diverted attention from Christian ideals in national policies.

To my mind military training in schools will serve to consolidate this same attitude of mind in growing generations. Military training cannot fail to make impressionable lives feel the justice of militarism as a spiritual attitude toward other nations. It will divert attention from ideals of justice and friendship in the same proportion as it is defended and enforced. Pride and suspicion are indispensable accompaniments of military preparation. Why should boys and girls be given such lessons? As far as real military preparation is concerned, military training in schools is of no real value; but as developing a bent of mind, an accustomedness to military thinking and a respect for war, it is liable to be a psychological suggestion which will make sanity and justice more difficult in all dealings of future public opinion with international relations.

#### GEORGE A. COE

# Professor, Teachers' College, Columbia University

War is, of course, a state of mind. This means not merely the mental processes that accompany and immediately precede hostilities, but also the entire set of readinesses that determine, in advance of acute friction, how a nation shall conduct itself with relation to friction-producing causes. Habits of thought and sentiment, which I shall here call the national mind-set, may and do make war while there is yet peace. They make it, not by hating other nations, not by desiring war, but by adjusting the whole mental mechanism so that, in certain situations, war-favoring reactions will occur as a matter of course. War seems to break upon us like an electric storm or an earthquake; it seems to happen to us. But in reality it happens in us, as a long, inter-connected series of events, the last of which—the call to arms and the actual fighting—merely carries out the nature of the series.

By changing the earlier members of this series in such a way as to establish a contrary mind-set, we could prevent war altogether, we could make it as obsolete as cannibalism. Suppose that all the children of the country were to be so trained and instructed that, a generation hence, the American mind should have a deep revulsion against the inhumanity of war, an intelligent realization of the futility of it, and at least a rudimentary understanding of the causes of international strains and of the ways in which people who do not desire war are nevertheless made to fight—if this kind of psychical preparedness were built up in our people for even one generation, we should be well on the road toward final enancipation. Looked at theoretically, this is entirely within our powers. If the educators of today were given a commission thus to shift the mental mind-set of the whole nation, and if they were granted a free hand, they could "turn the trick."

#### ARTHUR E. MORGAN

#### President of Antioch College

"Military training in our schools and colleges has as its chief result not increased efficiency in the technique of warfare, but rather a change in the mental outlook of our young people, so that they

look upon war as a normal part of life and expect to take part in it. The battle for war or peace is being fought today in our schools and colleges.

"We must take risks for peace as risks must be taken for every good thing. I believe that the building of a state of good will and the expectation of peace is far less of a risk than the building of a war spirit which will lead us to want to try our newly discovered military strength."

# UNDESIRABLE FOR HIGH SCHOOLS

\*

\* \*

#### CHARLES W. ELIOT

#### President Emeritus Harvard University

My present opinion about military training for school boys is, first, that what is called military drill is not a good form of physical exercise for boys between fourteen and eighteen; secondly, that the useful part of such military drill as is now given in a few private and public schools is the "setting-up" drill, and that this "setting-up" drill ought to be given to every boy during his school life, but in the form of calisthenic exercises, having no military purpose in view; and thirdly, that training in the real work of a soldier, that is, marching under a heavy load, digging as rapidly as possible in the ground, and using effectively rifles, machine guns, hand grenades, bayonets, short swords, heavy and light artillery, and motor vehicles, including aeroplanes, should not be begun before the twentieth year.

The Swiss, who know as well as any people in Europe how to organize and maintain an effective army, do not begin real military training until the twentieth year, except that they encourage practice with the rifle for boys and young men organized into rifle clubs, and provided by the government with ammunition and ranges.

For these reasons I am opposed to military training for school boys.

#### JOHN H. FINLEY

#### Ex-President College of the City of New York; Now an editor of the New York Times

Against military training in our schools I have protested and would continue to protest, not because I object to the drill in itself (for I do not), but because I think we ought not to make that which implies a perpetuation of international hatreds and brutish warfare a purposeful feature of the education of our children. I can, though with difficulty, conceive of conditions which might make such emergency training necessary; but I cannot bring myself to believe that we are to let our whole system of education reach its acme in recrudescent savagery or in preparation for it.

#### DR. DUDLEY A. SARGENT

#### Late Director Hemenway Gymnasium, Harvard University; Late Director Normal School of Physical Training, Cambridge, Mass. (Before the Massachusetts Special Commission on Military

#### Education, 1915)

Does military drill in the schools develop these qualities in youth which prepare a nation for the struggles of war, to say nothing of those of peace? No, because:

1. It is not an adequate means for physical training, being not only very limited in its activities, but actually harmful in its effect on boys less than eighteen or twenty years of age.

2. It does not offer sufficient opportunity for the development of the individual's powers of muscular and mental co-ordination and the exercise of judgment under unusual and trying circumstances.

3. It does not offer sufficient opportunity for struggle, which requires and develops a spirit of co-operation and self-sacrifice, loyalty and a strong will.

4. The most military nations in the world do not have military drill in their schools, but give military instructions and training only after the boys have reached eighteen or twenty years and have received years of physical training as a part of their schooling.

5. The same qualities that are of most value for war are of most value in peace. Military drill also is inadequate as a preparation for the struggles of peace, such as are necessary to sustain the place of the individual or nation in the pursuit of science, politics, commerce, etc.

6. Military drill in the schools cannot teach boys the real art of war, since they are too young to handle the real weapons and undergo the rigors of adequate instruction. Hence it is apt to foster a bombastic military spirit of "tin-soldierism" and a false sense of patriotism which does not appreciate the seriousness of war nor the glories of the struggles of peace.

# SAID BY STUDENTS

"When the world today is groping toward peace thru dis-armaments and conferences, the existence of the military training of youths is a great stumbling block. Our colleges and high schools ought to furnish an atmosphere that will encourage independent thinking and should inculcate in the students the idea of interna-tionalism, but the presence of the Reserve Officers' Training Corps prevents it—without doubt, it prevents the students from thinking that "above all nations is humanity," because intentionally, or otherwise, it inculcates in them aggressive and narrow chauvinism."

> -Editorial, Ka Leo o Hawaii (sophomore edition), Honolulu, Hawaii, February 19, 1926.

"We do not have to take ethics, sociology, logic, or philosophy, where we might learn the values of conduct in life, where we might be impressed with the futility of war, but we have to take two years of R. O. T. C. where we learn to use a bayonet, to operate machine guns, to "finish an opponent who hangs on . . . by driving the knee or foot to his crotch and gouging his eyes with your thumbs," and where our "inherent desire to fight and kill" is "carefully watched for and encouraged by the instructor."

-Editorial, The Vagabond, Indiana University, January, 1926.

"The R. O. T. C. is an effort to remedy the mistakes of pre-war days, and as such it deserves the hearty cooperation of everyone. Instead of marking the turning point toward militarism, it means the younger generation has discovered the fallacy in the false security under which we have lived, and now must remedy it. Until the millenium arrives, there will be war as long as there are two people on the face of the earth. Are we to be thrown into such a conflict raw, untrained? To do so would be murder. Yet, because there were no such organizations as we now have (R. O. T. C.), because of such movements as the one under way (against military training), thousands of young men, the flower of young America, lost their lives in the last war. Shall the same thing happen in the next?"

-Editorial, The Drexerd, Drexel Institute, Phila., Pa., March, 1926.

Has any college or university a right to make military training compulsorv

Nine years ago Congress passed a bill authorizing the conscription of American manhood as the only efficient means of meeting a serious emergency. That policy was a last resort-a war measure.

Today hundreds of institutions of higher learning are conscript-ing American manhood by refusing to grant diplomas until the stu-dent has served a period of years in military training. This policy is not a last resort—it is a peace measure.

Is such a course justifiable, or is it at variance with the fundamental concepts of democracy?

In a bill recently introduced by Congressman George A. Welsh of the sixth Pennsylvania district, if passed, military training will no longer be a pre-requisite for graduation in educational institutions other than essentially military schools. His measure proposes to amend the national defense acts of 1916 and 1920, making the course in military training elective rather than compulsory.

And why not-if science instead of man power is to decide the next war?

-Editorial, The Montana Kaimin, Univer. of Montana, March 5, 1926.

The Bill referred to is H. R. 8538 "prohibiting any course of military training from being made compulsory as to any student in any educational institution other than a military school." This would amend accordingly the National Defense Act. Write your Congressman and Representative John M. Morin, Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee, Washington, D. C., asking them to support this Bill.

Military Training in Civilian Colleges and Schools is sustained by Federal Appropriations. Last year, according to the report of the Secretary of War, the appropriations were:

For direct expenses.... \$3,818,020.00 Pay and allowances for officers and enlisted men 4,860,000.00 Free issues of supplies ..... 2,018,484.00

> Total ..... \$10,696,504.00

The expenditures for 1926-1927 as indicated in the Army Budget are likely to be more. The above figures do not in-clude expenditures for the Citizens' Military Training Camps which are expected to give training to 35,000 men this summer.

#### PARTIAL BIBLIOGRAPHY ON MILITARY TRAINING

#### **Books and Pamphlets**

Federal Legislation, Regulations and Rulings, affecting Land-Grant Colleges and Experiment Stations. Revised, April, 1925. Contains copy of Morrill Act and its amendments and rulings of the Bureau of Education relative to Land-Grant Colleges, Extracts from National Defense Act and rulings of War Department dealing with Land-Grant Colleges, (Department of Agriculture, circular 251). Secure from Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Wash-ington, D. C., price 10c.

War is Unchristian, But, by John Nevin Sayre, and Shifting the National Mind Set, hy Professor George A. Coe, 32 pages, 10c. Fellowship of Reconciliation, 383 Bible House, New York City.

War, Its Causes, Consequences and Cure, by Kirhy Page. 347 Madison Avenue, New York City. 15c.

Abolition of War, by Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page. 347 Madison Av., N.Y.C. 15c. Imperialism and Nationalism, hy Kirby Page, 347 Madison Ave., N. Y. C. 15c.

Manual of Military Training, by Moss and Lang, 2 volumes, \$5. Quartermaster Association, 923 Fifteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

A Summary of the National Defense Act and Questions and Answers on the Na-tional Defense Act. National League of Women Voters, 1010 Grand Central Terminal Building, New York City. 15c.

Military Training-Objections and Answers. National Security League, 25 West Forty-third Street, New York City.

Military Training-Some Opinions of Experts in Physical Training. Friends' Peace Committee, 304 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 5c.

Regarding Military Training at Universities, hy Walter Longstreth. Copies obtain-able at Room 15, 1305 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Military Training in Schools and Colleges of the United States, hy Winthrop D. Lane. Committee on Militarism in Education, Room 387, Bihle House, Astor Place, New York City. 10c.

Annual Report of the Secretary of War. War Department, Washington, D. C.

Statistics of Land Grant Colleges. Bureau of Education, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C.

#### Articles

Military Glory in the Colleges, by Paul Blanshard, The Nation, Feb. 18, 1925.

Lock-Step Education, by Paul Blanshard, Christian Century, May 14, 1925.

Are Jews Pacifists? by Dr. Maurice H. Harris, The Jewish Trihune, Feb. 5, 1926. The Men of the University of Minnesota, hy George Marvin, The Outlook, Feb. 24, The New York Commercial, The Searchlight Column, hy Fred Marvin.

The Other Side of Military Training (a reply to Military Training in Schools and Colleges), by John A. Kenderdine in The Survey, Jan. 15, 1926. Pacifism Grows Funnier, American Legion Weekly, March 12, 1926.

Pacifism as Adventure, World Tomorrow, March, 1926.

Military Training in Schools, editorial, Commercial and Financial Chronicle, New York City, March 9, 1926.

Review of recent developments on military training, The New Student, March 17, 1926.

The Military Training Gold Brick, by Winfred Ernest Garrison, Christian Century, March 11, 1926.

College Militarism as Seen Abroad. Eugene A. Turner, Hangchow, China. Chris-tian Century, March 11, 1926.

Compulsory Military Training. The system attacked-David Y. Thomas. The system dejended-Major Gen. Charles P. Summerall, Current History, April, 1926.

We thank the Friends' Peace Committee for permission to reprint the statements from Harry A. Garfield, Charles W. Eliot, John Finley, Shailer Matthews and Dudley A. Sargent. The statement from Morris R. Cohen appeared in the December number of the City College Lavender and Prof. Coe's statement in an article in The World Tomorrow.

# PRESBYTERIAN ROUND TABLE

## EARLY CHRISTIAN COMMUNISM.

By Rev. J. J. Murray, D. D., Lexington, Va.

Victor Hugo once said, "There is no army in the world that is so powerful as an idea whose time has come." Each generation has its dominant idea. Ours is that of Social Justice and Social Reconstruction. The world has waked up to the realization of the injustice of a world where a few men, even though they may be stronger and shrewder men, can profit at the expense of their fellows; of the folly of a world where the gifts, with which God has enriched us, are not used for the common good. The hour for the social idea has struck. On all sides we hear the challenge to build a new world of brotherhood, which will put needs and rights of men above the claims of profit and property. All governments and all institutions are being tested in the light of this principle of justice and human service. The days of individualism and ruthless competition are gone forever. The only question facing the world today is as to the type of reconstruction we are to have, whether it is to be on the basis of narrow nationalism with the consequent dangers of world conflict, or on a world-wide basis; and if the latter, whether it will be communism or some mere Christian form of brotherhood.

In the first chapters of the Book of Acts we have the description of an early experiment in Christian communism, not in the modern and dogmatic, but in the simple and Utopian sense of the word. It is an idyllic picture of Christian brotherhood. The three thousand men and women, who joined the church on the day of Pentecost, were born into a new relationship with God and their fellows, that warmed their hearts and changed their lives. Their love to God begot in them an intense love for one another. Under the impulse of this new faith they found a life of brotherhood. They were now of one accord. They were so close to one another, that the old forces of greed and selfishness died in their hearts. The old concern for private possessions was dissolved. They were so much "of one heart and one soul", that no man said "that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common." As long as anyone had anything, there was no one "among them that lacked", for they "parted them to all men, as every man had need." The new Christian experience was so strong and the love that it begot so warm, that men forgot the promptings of selfishness and even the dictates of prudence. They were brothers in Christ Jesus; and the Christian bond was stronger than all the disruptive factors in their lives. It was a glorious exhibition of Christian brotherhood.

## Its Background.

There were several impulses back of this manifestation of brotherhood. Two of them, I think, were foremost:

1. I think there is no doubt that the expectation of the immediate return of Christ, to set up His Kingdom,

and to dissolve all existing social and economic institutions had not a little to do with making it possible. These men did not expect to need their wealth very long. They expected Christ to set up a reign on earth, in which all the needs of his followers would be miraculously supplied. This naturally made them indifferent to property and careless of the future. If private wealth was seen to disappear, it was not hard for them to go ahead and use it for the common good. As this hope of the immediate return of Christ waned, the minds of the Christians returned to the promptings of self-interest and to a concern for safeguarding personal needs. The bonds of brotherhoed were somewhat lessened, and men became more careful again. But it is easy to make too much of this millenial preoccupation and to forget the factor which was deeper and more powerful.

2. These Christians had caught the urge to brotherhood from the spirit of Christ. The Sermon on the Mount was fresh in their minds, and, above all, His spirit was warm in their hearts. Because they were the sons of the Father, they felt that they were brothers together, and no man could see his brother in Christ lack while he enjoyed plenty for himself. This spirit lived on in the Church for many generations and played no little part in the winning of the world to Christiaity. There was constant service to human need, to the heathen as well as to fellow-believers. And the heathen world, hungry for an experience of fraternity, was powerfully attracted to the one group which realized it.

## Its Limitations.

This experiment at Jerusalem had its limitations:

1. In its complete manifestation it was limited to belivers. It was only in the small Christian group that there was this sharing of all goods. Those early Christians had the spirit of love toward all men, and showed to them every service possible, but there was a separation made between those on the inside and those on the outside; and this was not a plan that was advocated for society in general. This distinction is to be perceived throughout the New Testament. There is little question, whether or not the idea is congenial to the modern mind, that New Testament brotherhood is not just the same thing as modern humanitarianism. It is a religious bond, and its perfect realization is not to be expected in an irreligious society. The love of these Christians for all men was warm, their spirit of service boundless, their demand for justice among all men insistent, but the finest flowering of brotherhood could be felt only among fellow-believers.

2. We are not to suppose for a moment that even this temperary expression of brotherhood was without flaws. Some of them did not enter into it fully. No man needed to, unless he so chose. It was not formal and forced, but simple and voluntary. Peter makes it plain that with each man was left the decision as to how far he was to go in the sharing of his property. A few only pretended to enter into it. There was an Ananias and a Sapphira even in the days of Pentecost. The strain upon human greed was too great for any, except those who were whole-heartedly devoted to Christ and his cause. Some of them took advantage of it. It was not long, as the number of believers began to grow, before there came a complaint on the part of the Grecians against the Hebrews, that "their widows were neglected in the daily ministration," and it became necessary to appoint seven deacons to watch for fair play and to administer the common funds wisely.

3. It was not a carefully planned scheme. Those men were not trained economists. They had not thought this plan through. The movement was naive and uncritical. It was simply a spontaneous expression of their love to all Christian brethren. It could not last in the fashion in which it was begun. Such a plan could hardly be suited to the complex needs of a modern industrial society. Experiments somewhat similar have been made in modern times at New Lanark, Scotland, at New Harmony and Brook Farm and Oncida and Amana in this country. Some of them have been complete failures; some of them partially successful; but none of them has had much effect on the larger progress of society, except Robert Owen's experiment, and that, not so much as a model, as in providing a stimulus to remedial legislation. It is only with selected groups, in isolated communities and in simple societies that such plans can hope to succeed.

#### Its Significance.

With these limitations, does this early Christian communism of the Book of Acts have any significance for today's needs? Certainly, the form is transient. It was transient in its particular method even in the early Church. It was not a practical plan. The exigencies of human life and the frailties of human nature were not sufficiently taken into account. It was too idealistic, even for that day. It is scarcely practical for today. It was never meant to be, and it is no criticism of this magnificent exhibition of love to say, that in its form it was never meant as a model for human society at any of the stages, which it has so far reached.

But we can too easily dismiss this sample of true brotherhood with such phrases, just as we dismiss the searching demands of the Sermon on the Mount, upon which it was based. While it is not a model, it is an inspiration and a test. When these passages in Acts are analyzed it will be seen that there were two principles embodied in the life of those early days at Jerusalem. First, they "had all things common;" and, second, they "parted them to all men, as every man had need." The first of these was transient in Christian practise. It does not teach us that private property should be completely abolished in a Christian brotherhood. Probably it should not and cannot be. Even in Russia there are still private tooth-brushes.

But the spirit of this example of brotherhood is eternal. The second of the principles, that Christians should share with one another according to need, seems to have been permanent in the life of the early Church. The Jerusalem plan soon dissolved, but there were continual manifestations of its spirit in the New Testament age. And this spirit must last, if Christianity is

to be more than a form of personal piety that has little significance for life. In the Christian church and in lands, where Christianity is strong enough to guide the life of the community, this sharing is essential. Christianity does not forbid private property, but Christianity ought to take the sting out of private property. If the example of the First Century Church is at all normal for our life today, then unrestrained competition and the piling up of property, while others suffer, is un-Christian.

What does it teach us for today? It has its first lessons for our life within the Church. It is easy for the Church to talk about brotherhood, and yet fail to practise justice in the most intimate aspects of Church life. How, for example, is it possible for those of us who are ministers, and whose salaries are listed in the higher brackets, to be satisfied, while many of our brother ministers have less than decent living? Should not our Church work out a plan similar to the plan in the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, in which churches (or ministers) must contribute to an equalization fund, which will provide a satisfactory minimum salary for every minister, before any minister can receive more than this minimum Nor should this spirit affect us here alone. Jacob Riis tells us of an official of a church board, eager to do his service in a more personal way, who asked of a charity society that some slum family be assigned to him for help. When he investigated his family he learned to his amazement that the mother was working at starvation wages, scrubbing floors in the office building maintained by his own board. A minister in one of our churches says that when he learned that the janitor of his church was working seven days in the week, with no afternoon off, he had to stop preaching sermons on social justice, until this situation had been relieved. Again, how many of our churches leave the care of their members to some charitable organization. Surely Paul's words can be applied to the family of the church, "But if any provide not for his own. . . he is worse than an infidel."

It has also its lessons which the church must teach to the world at large. The demands of social justice in the complex modern world cannot possibly be met by personal service and helpfulness alone. A charity that perpetuates social injustice, while it seeks to relieve personal need, does in the end more harm than good. The Church is too strong to remain silent, while its own weaker members suffer from a pagan social order. And the Church is too large in America today to feel itself guiltless for a moment in a world where greed holds sway. We are no longer a little handful of believers, helpless amid the oppressions of a great heathen world, but a corporate and responsible part of the social order, in which we live. In fact, it is not too much to say that in America today Christians can have any social and economic organization that they will demand. It is not the business of the Church to form a political party or to support one, if for no other reason, because no political party can incarnate the principles of Jesus Christ. But it is the business of the Church, to teach its members to seek through the political parties an ever closer approximation to the Christian ideal of justice and brotherhood. It is not the business of the Church, to set forth a specific plan for reorganizing society, but it is the business of the Christian group, continually to criticise a social order which allows people to suffer, when there is plenty for all, and which tolerates such unequal use of the gifts which God meant for all His children, and continually to hold up against society, as it is, the Christian ideal.

If the Christian Church is to take seriously its task of winning the world for Christ, it cannot neglect the demands of social justice. There are three great powers bidding for the allegiance of the world today a pagan nationalism, an atheistic communism, and Christianity. The power that will win, for this generation at least, is the power that can give the most satisfying answer to the total need of human life. If modern Christianity is not strong enough to inspire its members to a juster reorganization of society's life, then communism, if it can show success in Russia, will sweep the world. But Christianity has the power, if it can ever summon the faith and the courage to serve the world, and, by serving the world, to win the world.

# CWA AND ITS AFTERMATH.

By Rev. William Crowe, Jr., Talladega, Alabama.

The Federal relief forces had been at work for about a year and a half prior to the beginning of the CWA. On November 15, 1933, all "work relief" was brought to an abrupt close and the CWA was inaugurated on November 16. The re-enlistment of workers in private industry had proceeded at a much lower rate than the government had hoped for. The Public Works Administration, which had been set up to give an impetus to recovery, by encouraging building contracts, was slow and had been a disappointment. The CWA was conceived to hasten recovery by giving substantial employment rather than a bare sustenance on a relief basis.

The CWA was hurled into the arena of depression conflict with a suddenness that caused the nation to gasp. Two days before the program was to start, the county relief workers in Alabama were notified of the plan. They were herded into a public room in a Birmingham hotel, were given a brief explanation and sent home to put ninety thousand men to work in thirty six hours. Of course, it was impossible to perform such a feat. Local construction and improvement projects had to be devised hurriedly and sent to the state administration office to be approved by engineers, before work could begin. Employees in the state headquarters worked on straight stretches of from eighteen to thirty hours, without respite day after day for several weeks trying to speed the work. The county workers were put in confusion by the stupendous task.

The unemployed were registered as rapidly as the National Re-employment Service could receive and catalogue them. Then they were called out without anyone in authority being able to know much about the needs of the worker called or his competence to do the type of work he had signified he was fitted for. Within three or four weeks it became possible to correct some of the mistakes, that had been made at the start, but by that time many citizens, who had been in thorough sympathy with the other phases of the relief program, became critical of CWA. This was

partly because they did not understand the program and partly because the work had been begun without sufficient time to prepare for it. Much of the criticism was also due to the high wages that were paid which tended to discourage private employment.

The Civil Works Administration was a part of the relief program, though it took the form of a huge employment effort. While it was designed to feed people, that was not its whole purpose. It gave general employment to all who were out of work, and at the start there was no account taken of how much need the applicant had for a job.

The money thus pumped into the ordinary channels of trade through CWA employment had a marked effect on all types of business except private construction. Since the close of the program late in March construction and general improvement contracts have gone forward in a reasonably gratifying degree.

The CWA has left a bad impression on the public mind. Officials in Washington, who were most enthusiastic about the experiment at the start, are said to have become alarmed before many weeks had passed. One of the worst and earliest results of the CWA was the extravagance it encouraged. Prior to its inception local government units had been required to furnish a definite proportion of the funds needed to do their work. The relief committee and local officials were zealous to see that the money, a reasonable amount of which they had supplied was wisely administered. But the safe-guard caused by local money being mixed with that of the federal government was obliterated over night under the CWA regime. Here was money pouring in like manna from heaven. The populace was amazed. Officials were exultant. Representatives of state headquarters say that they were often introduced to public gatherings . as "Santa Claus." A great game of spending was on. Dear old Uncle Sam had turned into a fairy prince.

The normal, human thing to do was to get as much of the "pie" as possible, and every attempt known to human genius was made toward that end. In most places large numbers of clerks and other administrative sub-ordinates, many of whom were not necessary, were added to the pay rolls. Many construction projects were begun, which were recognized at the time to be too large for completion during the life of the program, but everybody thought the Government would never dream of allowing this new-born child to die such an early death. Fortunately, however, the announced schedule was carried out. CW|A was closed unceremoniously. Hundreds of ambitious schemes were left without hope of completion.

It was easy for grafters of one kind or another to assert themselves. Thousands of them were apprehended throughout the nation while, naturally, many others came through unscathed. Political patronage reared its head within the organization and did its job well in many places. Although the politicians were continually warned that they were playing with fire and would be severely punished for using CWA jobs as political plunder, it was difficult to restrain them.

With all of its faults it must be remembered that the picture of the CWA program is not all dark. Much good was accomplished. Worthwhile construction projects were completed which will go down the years as a testimony to the partial success of the program. Thousands of men and women, whose lives had been warped by financial stress, and whose hearts were almost broken under the strain, were given an opportunity to work on a respectable basis of pay, who would never have been willing to apply for relief. Business went into a sudden boom everywhere. Many a barber and cobbler began to go again to the movies. Many a mill hand bought Christmas presents for his family for the first time in four years. We must not forget that the offering plate in the Churches grew heavier and heavier throughout the brief period, and Church income is still better than it was before CWA. The money that was put into the pockets of the unemployed is still circulating in the very places where it is most needed.

One of the most distressing effects of the CWA is that many people were actually pauperized by the very efforts the Government made to put them on their feet. They had managed to get along before December without Government aid. Then they were given a job, only to be cut off in the spring. Why should not the Government take care of them now that it has cut them off? One man applies for relief who owns several hundred acres of land and some bonds, neither of which is producing an income. He applies for relief because, if he sold either his real estate or his securities, he could get only twenty cents on the dollar for the original investment and nobody could expect him to do that. This is an extreme case. He had had a CWA job, however, and, like many others he feels that since the Government cut him off, it should now take care of him.

On the other hand, one of the most encouraging facts that relief workers report is that the masses of the unemployed, after two years of Government relief, are still anxious to work for the pittance the Gov-

# DR. MATTHEW LYLE LACY. His Early Ministry. By Rev. Thomas Cary Johnson,

Richmond, Va.

### Dr. Lacy's Friends.

Mr. Lacy was specially devoted to the teachers under whom he had sat at Union Seminary, and amongst these, to the chiefest in his estimation, Dr. Robert L. Dabney. Dr. Peck had not become a professor in the Seminary early enough to share in the privilege of teaching Mr. Lacy, but he had come to teach soon after Mr. Lacy's period as a Seminary student had ended, and entered the Presbytery of which Mr. Lacy was a member. Thereupon he had come to admire and love Mr. Peck greatly. A little later he formed a warm friendship with Dr. Dabney's great friend, the Rev. Dr. C. R. Vaughan. As soon as Dr. A. M. Fraser had been established at Staunton, he and Dr. Lacy had become good friends. Still later he was to take into the fold of his friendship younger men, as Rev. J. B. Massey and Rev. Asa Watkins. Many of these friends were not infrequent visitors at his home. Entertaining them was a refreshment and a joy to him; but, as he was ordinary very busy, it was at the same time somewhat of a tax on his strength.

The demands of the sick in his extensive parish grew

ernment is now supplying for mere sustenance. In this fact there is great hope for the future of our land.

There will probably never be sufficient private employment again to go around. That is, until our form of government is changed along much more radical lines than we now anticipate. Though we may not cherish the thought of such changes, they are the order of the day and are within the realm of possibility even for our nation. Whether Federal relief continues or not there will, no doubt, always have to be public works projects of some sort provided by local government units, as long as the present industrial system remains. Permitting people to work for their sustenance is infinitely better than handing out free provisions. Community chests cannot put the unemployed to work, because of the prohibitive expenses and the responsibility will remain for the most part on the shoulders of some branch of Government. Private charity may have seen its day, so far as large scale operations are concerned. At any rate, the public has come to understand that the Government, both local and national, has a responsibility to those who can and will work for a livelihood, and who are unable to do so through no fault of their own.

After all, there is no fundamental difference between a private welfare organization which gets its contributions through voluntary gifts, and a public welfare department which gets its funds through taxes voluntarily voted by the people. Yet there is a difference that is fundamental from another point of view, namely, that the public treasury can finance a work program and thereby maintain, in some measure, the morale of the people, whereas the private organization can only go on a mission of mercy, with meagre aid which gives the recipients a feeling of disgrace.

with the years. People who were sick, or in trouble desired visits from him, of whom they had grown to think as strong, able affectionate, and wise in the wisdom not of this world, had grown to think of him as in reality a man of God, rather better able to give them aid, than any other man accessible to them. People dying, or their friends, in increasing numbers wished him to minister at their bedsides and at their burials; and he felt it impossible to refuse the service desired while he remained in the nominal relation of pastor.

His church had grown in numbers not fast but steadily, if we take the average of a number of years. Thus in the four years, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1882, those received on profession of faith were 20, 7, 2, 1, respectively, or an average of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  a year. He had had the Sunday School reorganized and expected a larger increase from that source. He had cultivated that others might harvest as it proved. The church had grown, but its growth did not keep pace with his eager desire for its growth. This may have weighed upon him. He had offered to resign, had resigned a time or two, so far as he was able to do it by his own effort.

The first indication of joint action is recorded in the following excerpt from the sessional records:

The following preamble and resolutions were read

1

				T 10 15
Launa Lindlow Recorned Secretary				L-40-15
Laura Lindley, Research Secretary				. 9-2-40
131 B St. S.E., Washington, D.C.	•	· ·	•	. 7-2-40
1)1 D OU. D.H., Machington, D.O.				

# LIQUOR FINANCE IN 1940

The trend in CONSUMPTION OF DOMESTIC ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES was upward in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940. Tax-paid withdrawals of still and sparkling wines increased 22% over 1939, while spirits (both domestic and imported, and alcohol used in rectifying) increased 12% and fermented malt liquors 2.3% over 1939. Tax-paid withdrawals in 1940 of distilled spirits for consumption have been exceeded in our national history only in the years 1913, 1914, and 1917. The Internal Revenue Bur-eau reports as follows on tax-paid withdrawals for consumption – in gallons:

۶.

Fisc. year	Still and Per sparkling cap. wines (dom.)	Ferm. malt	Per cap:	Dom. & imp. spirits includ. al.	cap.	Total, all alco. beverages	Per cap.
1y33 1934 1935 1936 1937 1938 1939 1940*	1,801,647 .014 14,810,110 .117 35,680,325 .279 47,764,375 .372 62,430,597 .479 61,536,752 .472 67,693,276 .517 82,580,082 .625	205,093,706 1,000,247,209 1,309,093,761 1,511,555,040 1,717,150,760 1,671,706,558 1,606,323,094 1,643,328,600	7.90 10.26 11.77 13.28 12.83 12.26	6,118,326 43,017,153 82,457,338 110,631,778 136,859,616 130,203,653 125,689,310 140,717,108	.339 .646 .861 1.06 1.00 .96	213,013,879 1,058,074,472 1,427,231,424 1,669,951,193 1,916,440,973 1,863,446,963 1,799,705,680 1,866,625,790	. 8.35 11.18 13.00 14.82 14.30 13.74

PER	CAPITA	CONSUMPT	ION OF	ALCOHOLIC	BEVERAGES	- BASED	ON TAX-PAID	WITHDRAWALS
12.		······································						
10		• •						
2								
	1-33	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938		1940

The INTERNAL REVENUE received from alcoholic beverages increased 6% in 1940 over 1939, due not only to increased consumption but to the imposition of higher taxes on distilled spirits, except brandy. The estimated expenditure for alcoholic beverages at retail is \$4,500,000,000, nearly twice as much as was spent for recovery and relief by the Federal government. The figures follow:

Fiscal year	<pre>Int. rev. from al. bev. exclus. of Customs</pre>	Estimated retail cost of alco. bev.	Estimated per cap. expend. for alco. bev.	Recovery and relief expend.of U.S. govt.
1422	\$ 43,179,822.44	\$ 350,000,000	\$ .2.78	\$1,277,038,168.00
1933 1934	258,911,332,62	2,000,000,000	15.79	4,283,315,473.14
	411,021,772.35	3,225,000,000	25.29	3,068,803,053.20
1935 1936	505,464,037.10	5,000,000,000	38.93	2,776,796,468.51
		5,000,000,000	38.68	3,014,589,912.78
1937	594,245,086.27	4,500,000,000	34.61	2,236,167,039.30
1738	567, 978, 601.53		34.36	3,196,587,066.80
1939	587,799,700.68	4,500,000,000		2,401,000,000.00
1970*	624,253,156.11	4,500,000,000	34.09	2,401,000,000.00

An argument used for repeal - and the principal boast of liquor sympathizers now - was the <u>revenue</u> to be derived from alcoholic beverages. In an address at Sea Girt, N.J., on August 27, 1932, President Roosevelt said that "Unquestionably our <u>tax burden would not be so heavy</u> nor the <u>forms it takes so objectionable</u>" if revenue from liquor "could be made <u>available for the expenses of the government</u>."

Liquor revenue was made available to the government, and we are at present in the <u>longest period of governmental deficit</u> that the United States has ever known, and the gross public debt has risen to the unprecedented height of nearly 43 billions, or about \$325 per capita. Liquor revenue has not lowered taxes. Perhaps the social burden the government is trying to alleviate is more closely connected with the liquor traffic than it now admits. In the Sea Girt speech President Roosevelt said:

"In dealing with the great social problems in my own state, such as the care of the wards of the state, and in combating crime, I have had to consider most earnestly this question of temperance. It is bound up with crime, with insanity, and, only too often, with POVERTY." Liquor Finance in 1940 - 2.

Fiscal year	Receipts, U. S. government	Expenditures U.S. government	Deficit, U. S. government	Gross public debt, U.S. govt.
1y32 1933 1934 1935	\$2,005,725,437 2,079,696,742 3,115,554,050 3,800,467,202	\$4,947,776,888 4,325,149,722 6,370,947,347 7,583,433,562	\$2,942,051,451 2,245,452,980 3,255,393,297 3,782,966,360	\$19,487,009,766 22,538,672,164 27,053,085,988 28,701,167,092
1936	4,115,956,615	9,068,885,572	4,952,928,957	33,545,384,622
1437	5,293,840,237	8,546,379,956	3,252,537,719	36,427,071,021
1938	6,241,661,227	7,691,287,108	1,449,625,881	37,167,487,451
1939	5,667,823,621	9,268,338,031	3,600,514,405	40,445,417,318
1940*	5,925,000,000	9,537,000,000	3,612,000,000	42,967,531,037

The PRODUCTION of ethyl alcohol, fermented malt liquors, and sparkling wines increased during the fiscal year 1940 over 1939, while that of distilled spirits and still wines decreased. The figures follow, in gallons:

`Fiscal year	Ethyl alcohol	Distilled spirits	Ferm. malt liquors	Still wines	Sparkling wines
1933	115,609,754	7,795,160	303,732,350	18,755,651	
1934	165,103,382	76,506,388	1,168,027,703	77,778,388	532,874
1935	180,645,920	169,126,472	1,402,086,755	· 91,930,362	310,722
1936	196,126,236	253,867,925	1,606,173,922	170,875,617	413,850
1937	223,181,228	258, 956, 886	1,821,190,697	122,045,241	481,126
1938	201,033,858	150,155,924	1,746,545,053	228,726,368	489,013
1939	201,017,546	145,326,176	1,669,987,143	231,959,287	334,188
1940*	243,727,751	143,453,708	1,701,567,246	212,350,664	481,606

IMPORTS of distilled spirits and wines showed an <u>increase</u> over 1939. Following trade agreements with Canada and France, imports have been considerably larger from 1937 on. The Customs Bureau reports as follows on the number of gallons of alcoholic beverages imported since repeal, and which entered into consumption:

Fiscal year	Distilled spirits	Still wines	Sparkling wines	Total duty paid
1934 (7.mos.)	3,791,138	2,706,474	333,818	\$24,022,793
1935	7,470,334	2,440,699	288,483	40,942,988
1936	9,801,308	2,519,180	280,161	37,987,885
1937	16,138,202	3,462,502	567,468	44,486,623
1738	14,257,855	3,045,961	542,142	39,432,514
1739	11,111,241	3,149,564	511,647	31,814,159
1740*	12,382,042	3,901,482	643,883	35,859,029

APPROPRIATIONS to enforce the NationalProhibition Act were below ten million dollars to and including 1926, and were highest in 1932, when \$15,547,444.66 was set aside for this purpose. The amount spent since repeal to supervise the production and use of industrial alcohol, to supervise the legal liquor industry, and to suppress the production of illicit or untax-paid liquor through the Alcohol Tax Unit is practically the same as that formerly used to enforce national prohibition. In addition, the Federal Alcohol Control Administration, created by Executive Order on December 4, 1933, and abolished on September 24, 1935, and the Federal Alcohol Administration, which succeeded that body, have made expenditures to control the liquor traffic. The Federal Alcohol Administration was abolished as of June 30, 1940, and its duties added to those of the Alcohol Tax Unit. The official records show:

Fis <b>c</b> al yea <b>r</b>	Alcohol Tax Unit allotment	FACA or FAA allotment	No. agents and investigators, ATU, June 30	Stills seized	Persons arrested viol. Liquor Tax Act
1934	\$14,311,974	\$133,038.48	1,393	9,869	
1935	10,530,800	365,622.68	1,522	15,712	29,521
1936	11,913,430	180,000.00	1,377	15,629	31,504
1937	12,332,300	475,000.00	1,440	16,142	29,477
1738	12,332,300	450,000.00	1,448	11,407	25,867
1439	12,332,300	425,000.00	1,392	12,059	28,844
1940*	12,332,300	425,000,00	1,249	10,661	25,621

NOTE: Figures for 1940 marked \* are preliminary and subject to revision.

Source: Reports of the Commr. of Internal Revenue; Budgets of the U.S.; Reports of the Secretary of the Treasury; Reports of the Commr. of Customs.

# THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA RESEARCH SERVICE

Laura Lindley, Research Secretary	L-40-14
131 B St. S.E., Washington, D.C.	9-2-40

PROPER FOOD THE REAL TREATMENT FOR ALCOHOLISM

Dr. J. S. DeJarnette, superintendent of the Western State Hospital, at Staunton, Virginia, has treated at the hospital <u>over 6,000 white inebriates</u> regularly committed in wards separate from the insane. Commitments are made by a magistrate and two physicians on a regular form of complaint.

The <u>treatment given alcoholics</u> is described by Dr. DeJarnette as follows in a letter to the Anti-Saloon League:

"We give these patients a strong tonic of iron, quinine, strychnine pyrophosphate which is made at the hospital. The patient's bowels are looked after, and the alcohol is immediately withdrawn. Within 24 hours the patient acts in a normal manner with the exception of some slight tremor. In cases of delirium tremens we give sedatives and special diet, and within 24 to 48 hours the improvement is wonderful.

"Food is the most important thing in the case of an inebriate, such as beef, eggs, milk, etc. If they have been drinking for any length of time they have a regular cibophobia, and as soon as they begin to eat they are on the road to recovery from the alcoholic symptoms. We consider proper food the real treatment for this trouble.

"We frequently have <u>pellegra along with alcoholism</u> and in such cases we give nicotinic acid with a high protein diet. Our <u>treatment usually lasts from</u> one to six months, sometimes a shorter period and sometimes longer.

"We estimate about 25% cure of our cases, and we do not consider them cured until they have been away from the institution two years without a bad report.

"I do not know of any institution that is making a special study of this subject, but we are trying to get a laboratory in which to study the treatment of inabriacy as follows:

"A large percentage of the <u>alcohol is absorbed into the blood vessels in</u> <u>about one hour and ten minutes</u> after having been taken into the stomach, and it goes into the vascular system as alcohol. My theory for research is that we should have a study along the line of some agency which should be given hypodermically or taken into the stomach to <u>prevent any euphoria or happy feeling</u> from the alcohol taken into the system, and not only that, it would nauseate the patient or give him some <u>very disagreeable feeling when alcohol is mixed with the blood</u> in his system after the injection. We should have an agency that would last several days, and probably the patient would only require from one to three injections a week to keep his system in such a condition that he will become sick when he takes an alcoholic drink.

"When the patient finds he will not get a pleasant feeling from the alcohol, but on the other hand, would have a disagreeable feeling, he would be inclined to <u>cut whiskey out entirely</u>. Inebriates should be treated by the physician nearest them in the city or county. This is the line of study, I believe, we should follow. With a skilled serologist, I also believe we will be able within fifteen years or less to find something that will materially prevent the inebriate from drinking at all. Proper Food the Real Treatment for Alcoholism - 2.

"I estimate it will cost from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars a year to make a careful research of this subject, and it is the best money we could spend. If we do not study this question we will never know anything about it, and the research, psycho-biochemical laboratory is going to turn the trick, in my opinion.

"I wish to impress upon you again the importance that the inebriate should have something in his system at the time he takes the alcohol to prevent a happy feeling and produce an unhappy and uncomfortable feeling immediately."

DEATHS FROM POISONING IN MASSACHUSETTS

During the ten-year period from 1928-1937, 8,661 out of a total of 88,090 deaths were certified by Massachusetts medical examiners as due to toxic substances, or 9.83%. <u>Alcohol is responsible for 52% of all the deaths due to toxic substances</u>, according to a study made by Drs. Leo Alexander, Merrill Moore, and Timothy Leary, and reported in the American Journal of Medical Jurisprudence.

The term "poisoning" was used in its medico-legal sense, and no attempt was made to differentiate between poisons which act directly upon the tissue cells, and chronic alcoholism, which acts by depriving the body of its vitamin supplies.

Vital statistics on deaths from alcoholism are of limited value in general, as physicians attending private patients who die of alcoholism are prone to certify death as due to organic disease of the heart or a similar cause because they wish to save the family from the stigma attached to death from alcoholism.

When a <u>death is certified as due to alcoholism</u>, a medical examiner must be called, and he is inclined to <u>hide the actual cause</u> by certifying that death was caused by cardiac failure, chronic nephritis, or other natural cause, with <u>alcoholism</u> <u>as a secondary cause</u>. <u>Vital statistics are made up from primary causes</u>, so <u>alcohol-</u> <u>ism does not appear in the statistics</u>, and the official figures on that cause of death are artificially low.

A PATHOLOGICAL DRINKER CAN NEVER AGAIN BECOME A CONTROLLED DRINKER

"Once any individual becomes a pathological drinker, he can never again become a controlled drinker," says Dr. Robert V. Seliger, Assistant Visiting Psychiatrist, and Instructor in Neurology at Johns Hopkins University, and a member of the Maryland Mental Hygiene Bureau, in an article in Your Life Magazine. "From that point on, his choice is limited to <u>two alternatives</u>: 1. <u>Total abstinence</u>; or 2. <u>Chronic alcoholism</u>, with all the personal, social and economic penalties that it implies."

Pathological drinkers, i.e., individuals who, instead of being able to control their use of alcohol, are <u>unable to prevent alcohol from controlling them</u>, may have a constitutional and psychological make-up such that they have no more business using alcohol than young diabetics have using sugar; or they may have no such handicap at the start, but as controlled and social drinkers, have <u>developed</u> a growing dependence upon liquor until they reached the pathological stage.

The usual advice about <u>drinking in moderation is no help</u> because no definition of moderation in terms of quantity of alcohol holds good for different individuals, or the same individual at different times, declares Dr. Seliger. Drinking Reported in 1 of 4 Fatal Accidents - 2.

In Evanston, Ill., alcohol tests were made of 2,000 drivers <u>not</u> involved in accidents. Only <u>18.5%</u> of this group <u>showed alcohol in the blood</u>, whereas <u>45%</u> of the <u>drivers injured and hospitalized had been drinking</u>. Assuming that no-alcohol drivers have an accident rate of 1, the Evanston study indicates relative accident rates as follows:

Per cent alcohol in blood	Relative chances of accident
No alcohol	1
Under 0.07%	3
0.07% to 0.11%	5
0.11% to 0.15%	15
0.15% and over	55

In addition to the <u>32,600 deaths</u> caused by motor vehicles in 1939, there were <u>1,150,000 non-fatal injuries</u>, of which <u>90,000 resulted in permanent disability</u>. The number and rate of all accident deaths and of those due to motor vehicles is as follows:

	Total	Rate per	Motor	Rate per
	all causes	100,000 pop.	vehicle	100,000 pop.
1913	82,460	85.5	4,227	4.4
1918	85,149	82.5	10,723	10.4
1923	84,403	75.7	18,384	16.5
1928	95,043	79.3	27,996	23.3
1933	90,932	72.3	31,363	24.9
1934	100,977	74.7	36,101	28.5
1935	99,773	78.2	36,369	28.5
1936	110,052	85.7	38,089	29.7
1937	105,205	81.4	37,643	30.7
1938	93,805	72.0	32,582	25.0
1939 (est		71.0	32,600	24.9

WAR v. ACCIDENTS. Deaths from accidents are frequently compared to casualties in warto show the seriousness of the accident problem. To facilitate such comparisons the following information is given on wars in which the U. S. Army and Navy have participated. The figures were obtained from the Adjutant Jeneral's Office of the War Department:

· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Total U.S. troops	Killed in action and
	engaged	died of wounds
Revolutionary War	395,858	4,044
War of 1812	528,274	1,956
War with Mexico	116,597	1,549
Civil War (Union forces)	2,128,948	110,070
Civil War (Confederate forces)	900,000	74,524
War with Spain (includ. Philippines)	280,564	1,704
World War	4,057,101	50,510
Total	8,407,342	244,357

MOTOR VEHICLES v. DISEASE. With a death occurring every 16 minutes, motor vehicles again ranked as a major killer in 1939. They equalled the death toll of diabetes, half the total for tuberculosis, or two and a half times the number of syphilis deaths. Among children, traffic deaths exceeded the combined toll of scarlet fever, diphtheria, measles, and whooping cough. Intoxication was listed as the cause of 5% of the hospitalized home accidents in the Cook County Hospital, Chicago. THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA RESEARCH SERVICE

Laura Lindley, Research Secretary	NUGGETS #9	L-40-16
131 B St. S.E., Washington, D.C.	NUGGEIS # 9	9-2-40

RELIEFERS USE FOOD STAMPS FOR LIQUOR AND RACE BETS

Senator Styles Bridges, of New Hampshire, inserted in the Congressional Record of August 23, 1940, p. 16723, an article from the Washington Times-Herald entitled, "Reliefers Using Food Stamps for Liquor and Race Bets, Coast Officials Learn."

"This is a disgraceful proceeding," said Senator Bridges. "This money and these benefits were made available to aid the poor people of this country and their families. I certainly am shocked to find <u>these funds going for liquor</u> and betting on race tracks. I am glad those cases are being investigated and I hope the person's involved will be punished." The pertinent parts of the article follow:

"Los Angeles, August 26 (C.T.F.S.). - Federal investigators here are making an extensive inquiry into reports that reliefers who buy <u>food stamps</u> are using the stamps illegally to <u>place bets on the races</u> and <u>buy liquor and tobacco</u>. Some even sell the stamps to friends who <u>buy automobiles</u> with them, it was alleged today. Already eight arrests have been made, and at least four more cases are to be placed before the grand jury after its recess. \*\*\*

"While the <u>stamps</u> are supposed to be good only at groceries and for designated foods, <u>some grocers accept them for liquor</u>, <u>tobacco</u>, and even some pool-room operators accept them. All dispose of them by arrangement with some friend in a grocery."

## LIQUOR ADVERTISING

Alcoholic beverages ranked third in the amount of <u>advertising carried in news-papers in 1939</u>, and <u>sixth</u> in advertising carried in the four media of <u>newspapers</u>, <u>magazines</u>, <u>radio</u>, <u>and farm journals</u>, according to a study on "National Advertising Expenditures by Classification," issued by the research and promotion department of the Bureau of Advertising, A.N.P.A. The ten largest classifications in the various advertising media are as follows:

Newspapers		Newspapers, magazines,	radio, farm journals
Groceries	\$32,983,001	Groceries	\$91,062,010 - 23.7%
Automotive	26,525,420	Automotive	59,593,591 /
Alcoholic beverages	16,878,707	Toilet requisites	42,881,384
Tobacco	14,317,857	Tobacco	33, 438, 103
Medical	10,772,399	Medical	25,661,289
Toilet requisites	9,804,950	Alcoholic beverages	<u>25,059,236</u> - 6.5%
Transportation	9,516,575	Houschold equipment	18,104,770
Publications	6,071,307	Transportation	13,405,575
Public utilities	6,032,464	Wearing apparel	10,653,740
Housing equipment	4,983,595	Industrial	10,571,023
		All other	52,439,436
		Total	\$383,340,357

Restrictions on liquor advertising, among the most drastic in the nation, went into effect in Minnesota in July. All advertising copy, except that in national magazines prepared outside the state, must be confined to virtually name and technical description. Any allusions to schools, colleges and pay checks is outlawed.

Screen writers have been approached by American distillery agents to have their film characters request <u>Bourbon</u> and soda <u>instead of Scotch</u> in drinking scenes. Reward: A quart for each mention!) (Evening Star, D.C., 8-24-40) Nuggets #9 - 2.

# ALCOHOLISM CAUSED MORAL COLLAPSE OF FRENCH ARMY

"I believe that the prevalent alcoholism in France was one of the causes of her breakdown," wrote Dr. R. Hercod, general secretary of the International Bureau Against Alcoholism, Lausanne, Switzerland, on July 13, 1940. "During the <u>comparative</u> <u>leisure of the armies during the winter</u> there was <u>much drinking among the soldiers</u>. If France is to be restored alcoholism must be resolutely combated."

Reports from military experts that <u>alcoholism had caused the moral collapse of</u> <u>the French army</u> under the German attack and that it was the worst of the four main problems now facing the country. led to the adoption of <u>partial prohibition</u> by Marshal Petain's government at Vichy, effective August 24.

Beverages of over 16% alcoholic content are prohibited, with some exceptions. There is no interference with home consumption. <u>Advertising</u> of aperitifs and other alcoholic patent drinks <u>is prohibited</u>. <u>Drunkenness is made punishable</u> by fines, and will <u>no longer be considered an extenuating circumstance for wild driving or other</u> offenses.

When the war started a year ago France had become the heaviest drinking nation in Europe, with one bar for every 80 inhabitants, and a per capita consumption of about 3 quarts of alcohol in addition to about 50 gallons of wine.

## GERMANY DEVELOPING A NON-ALCOHOLIC BEER

German health and military authorities demand a non-alcoholic "people's drink" to take the place of beer. <u>"Disregard of the health of the national body is no</u> longer cause for smiles," stated Prof. Graf of Dortmund.

## STRANGE "PATRIOTIC" FERVOR OF BRITISH LIQUOR INTERESTS

Great Britain has <u>rationed not only food</u>, but its <u>all-important tea</u>. The distillers were recently rationed to 1/3 of their normal grain allotment. But, in anticipation of the war, canny Scotch distillers made 1939 one of their biggest years. The large stocks on hand will insure future supplies of whisky for some years, says Business Week on July 6, 1940.

In the opinion of one M.F. in the House of Commons, "patriotic" British citizens help their country more by buying whiskey than "National Savings Certificates" (British "baby bonds"). He cited the example of a man with los. to spare: "If he took it to the Government and bought a National Savings Certificate, at the end of ten years the Government would give him back 21s., whereas if he used it to buy a bottle of whisky, the Government got 10s. and would not have to give him back anything at all. A further consideration is that 4s.7d. of the los. would go into somebody's taxable income - for instance, the distillers - and the Government could get part of that as well." What would the man get? Drunk? And the nation? Moral collapse, like France?

#### ARMY RECRUITS IN THE UNITED STATES

Reports from the Army recruiting office in Whitehall Street on the physical condition of volunteers for military service reflect the state of the nation's health in no favorable light. Of those who presented themselves, <u>30% were unfit</u>. During the last war 21% of those conscripted were rejected outright, and 26% provisionally accepted, says the New York Times editorially on August 18, 1940. Nuggets #9 - 3.

# SOUTH CAROLINA DRYS WIN IN REFERENDUM

The temperance forces of South Carolina won an advisory referendum on August 27 by over 50,000 majority. Preliminary figures give the drys 162,540 votes to 110,994 for the opposition. This is particularly notable in view of the wording of the equestion with regard to taxation. The question was:

"Do you favor discontinuing the legal sale of intoxicating liquors, wines, beers, and other intoxicating beverages, and the imposition of <u>new</u> <u>taxes to replace lost revenue</u> as a result of the repeal of the present liquor law?"

# LIQUOR AND POLICE WORK DO NOT MIX IN NEW YORK

Mayor LaGuardia warned 300 probationary patrolmen and 19 probationary policewomen that <u>liquor and police work do not mix</u>, when he spoke at the annual awarding of medals to police heroes in the Court of Peace at the World's Fair.

"As an older man let me warn you boys and girls not to try to keep up with the Joneses because you are now members of the Department," said the Mayor. "You have a night-stick, and it is varnished. You have a gun, and the bullets for it contain powder. Varnish, powder and alcohol do not mix. You can't be a rummy and a police officer at the same time - not in my administration."

The New York City Police Department reports 2,439 arrests for intoxication during 1939. Evidently it is not the policy to make arrests for intoxication, for it is inconceivable that a city with a population of more than ten times that of Washington, D.C., for instance, should have only one-ninth as much drunkenness.

During the calendar year 1939 there were  $\underline{72,655 \text{ liquor licenses}}$  issued in New York State, of which  $\underline{21,491}$  were for ON-premises consumption. The beverage tax receipts amounted to  $\underline{330,765,294.13}$ , or  $\underline{\$2.37}$  per capita. The total consumption of beer, liquor, and wine amounted to 284,121,913 gallons, or  $\underline{21.92}$  gallons per capita, slightly under the high mark set in 1937 of 22.20 gallons per capita.

### FINGERPRINT RECORDS OF YOUTH

The Federal Bureau of Investigation examined 576,920 fingerprint cards of persons arrested by state officers during the year ending Dec. 31, 1939. Of these 108,857, or 18.9%, were of youth under 21, and 202,208, or 35%, were under 25. The relation of liquor to arrests of youth is shown by the following table - 4.4% of those under 21 and 14.0% of those under 25 were arrested for intoxication:

	Total no. arrested	No. under 21	% under 21	No. under 25	% under 25
Total all causes	576, 920	108,857	18.4%	202,208	35.0%
Liquor law violation	9,526	728	7.6%	1,895	19.9%
Driv. while intox.	24,309	1,011	4.2	3,915	16.1
Disorderly conduct	27, 446	4,167	14.9	9,013	32.2
Drunkenness	90, 787	4,001	4.4	12,775	14.0

FBI reports for the first half of 1940 show that more persons aged 19 were arrested than for any other age group, as was the case in 1939. Women were represented by 8.2% (24,362) of the 298,423 arrest records examined, while during the first six months of 1939 women represented only 7.1% of the records. Arrests for drunkenness represented 13.4% of the total arrests of women during the first half of 1939, as compared with 11.4% for the entire year of 1939. Nuggets #9 - 4.

## OHIO TRAFFIC

There were 11,716 accidents, 610 fatalities, and 9,305 persons injured in state highways outside of municipalities of Ohio during 1939. This is a 26.5% increase in accidents, 5.5% more people killed, and 22% more persons injured than in 1938.

Of the 20,140 <u>drivers</u> involved in accidents, 1,358 had been drinking and 494 were obviously drunk, or <u>9.2%</u> who were under the influence of alcohol. Of the 444 <u>pedestrians</u> involved in accidents, 38 had been drinking and 23 were obviously drunk, or <u>13.7%</u> who were under the influence of alcohol. The Traffic Bureau records show the relation of drinking to traffic accidents to be as follows:

	1935	1936	1937	1738	1939
Driver had been drinking	669	768	1,120	1,156	1,852
5 non-fatal accidents	5.4	6.0	7.2	7.9	10.1
% fatal accidents	3.3	6.1	6.4	8.6	13.3
Pedestrian had been drinking	25	35	57	44	<u>61</u>
% non-fatal accidents	23.4	27.1	38.4	40.0	11.2
% fatal accidents	20.0	41.0	39.6	54.4	20.3

The condition of Ohio drivers and pedestrians is reported as "Had been drinking," "Obviously drunk," "Had not been drinking," and "Not stated." It is quite possible, therefore, that a number of those whose condition was "Not stated" may have been under the influence of alcohol also.

More than three-fourths of the drinking drivers were reported at night, and 26% of all night accidents were drinking-driver accidents. In the daytime, only 7% of the accidents involved drinking drivers. Since the summary indicates that drinking driver accidents are about four times as great at night as during daylight hours, this factor must be considered in any attempt to reduce the night accident rate.

Traffic fatalities throughout the United States increased 8% in the first six months of 1940 over the corresponding period of 1939, reports the National Safety Council. June was the ninth consecutive month to show an increase over the same month of the preceding year, its jump of 15% being the greatest since March, 1937. The Commissioner of Motor Vehicles of New York State reported that automobile fatalities and injuries increased every month of 1940 (except May) over the 1939 record.

Suicides numbered 19,802 in 1938, more than twice as many as the £,959 recorded in 1920, reports the Consus Bureau. The rate for 1938, 15.2 per 100,000 estimated population, was the highest since the depression period, when the all-time high rate of 17.4 per 100,000 was recorded in 1932. Nevada reported the highest rate in 1938, 35.6; South Carolina the lowest, 6.7.

### ATHLETICS

The Flying Concellos (Arthur and Antionette) in the Ringling Bros., Barnum & Bailey circus, are the world's greatest <u>aerialists</u>. Trapeze artists can't do any drinking. There's nothing that will disconcert a flyer so much as to come out of a double somersault and zoom into a beer breath on the catcher. "This business is dizzy enough," Art said. "You don't need any liquor." (Evening Star, D.C., 5-17-40)

# A Great Paper Tells Why It Is Backing WILLKIE

# A Reprint of an editorial in the New York Times, issue of September 19, 1940. DISTRIBUTED BY WILLKIE CLUBS

#### THE CHOICE OF A CANDIDATE

The New York Times supported Franklin D. Roosevelt for the Presidency in 1932 and again in 1936. In 1940 it will support Wendell Willkie,

It has made its choice, as all Americans must make their choice, in one of the great crises of this nation's history. The liberties of the American people are in danger. A hostile Power, openly proclaiming its hatred of the democratic way of life, has swept across Europe and is now battering at the gates of England, seeking to grasp the eastern approaches to that Atlantic world in which our own democracy has lived and prospered.

Both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Willkie understand the critical nature of this threat to the United States. Both are citizens of the world. Both know that it is impossible to isolate ourselves from the consequences of a world revolution. Both know that we must take sides morally or count for nothing. Both are opposed to actual intervention in the war, but short of war both favor every possible aid that can be given to the one democracy in Europe that still stands in Hitler's path.

This agreement between the two Presidential candidates on the fundamentals of a foreign policy is a deeply fortunate fact for the American people. Without it we might now be involved in a bitter controversy which would wreck our unity. As matters stand, the choice before us has been narrowed to this question: In whose hands, Mr. Roosevelt's or Mr. Willkie's, is the safety of the American people likely to be more secure during the critical test that lies ahead?

We give our own support to Mr. Willkle primarily for these reasons: Because we believe that he is better equipped than Mr. Roosevelt to provide this country with an adequate national defense; because we believe he is a practical liberal who understands the need of increased production; because we believe that the fiscal policies of Mr. Roosevelt have failed disastrously; because we believe that at a time when the traditional safeguards of democracy are falling everywhere it is particularly important to honor and preserve the American tradition against vesting the enormous powers of the Presidency in the hands of any man for three consecutive terms of office.

Our readers are entitled to a statement of the reasons which, upon mature consideration, have led us to these opinions.

#### 1. Defense of the United States

In the field of national defense we recognize that Mr. Roosevelt has taken a number of necessary steps, all of which have had our whole hearted endorsement, both before he was ready to take them and later, when he had acted. He has recreated the Defense Advisory Commission and called some able men to Washington. He has recommended that Congress appropriate large funds for defense equipment. He has succeeded in negotiating leases for new naval and air bases which are of great potential importance to the defense of the whole North American continent. He strongly urged Congress to adopt a system of compulsory selective military service.

But there are a number of other equally important steps which Mr. Roosevelt has not taken. He has withheld power from the Advisory Commission and made it a mere consultative agency, unable on its own authority to cut the endless red tape in Washington. He has kept power for himself, tried to be his own defense administrator and retained in his own hands control over too many of a defen still lacks central planning. He has semed to regard the whole business of defense as a side-show to the ordinary activities of the country, requiring no fundamental change in the habits of the American people and no revision of any of the policies of his administration. We find Mr. Willkie's early call for sacrifice, for hard work, 'sweat and toil," more reassuring than Mr. Roosevelt's cheerful confidence that we need not let ourselves become "discom-boomerated" by the task that lies before us.

But all these points, important as they are, only touch the surface of the matter. At bottom, adequate national defense means much more than airplanes, tanks and cannon, even when all of these are actually on hand and not just "on order." It means a nation strong in its economic health and power, with a thriving industry, full employment, both of man power and of money, new capital flowing vigorously into new channels of production. It means, in short, a nation with gigantic industrial force behind its army and its navy.

The record shows that Mr. Roosevelt has achieved least success in the solution of this very problem. He has failed to create the conditions for a confident and expanding business. It is a reasonable assumption that this same problem can be managed better by a man who understands business, who has the confidence of business, who has himself been a part of business, whose interest in business problems has been first-hand and continuous rather than casual and intermittent, and whose experience includes a successful personal record in stimulating business and expanding industrial production.

In this field Mr. Willkie is the professional and Mr. Roosevelt is the amateur.

#### II. Liberalism and Reform

In the field of domestic policy this newspaper has recognized the need of the sound social and economic reforms of the two Roosevelt Administrations. It has given its support to these reforms. Specifically, it has endorsed the purpose and the principle of the Social Security Act, the National Housing Act of 1934, the Slum Clearance Act of 1936, the Soil Conservation Act, the Securities Act of 1933, the regulation of the Stock Exchanges, the supervision of investment trusts. The reforms at which every one of these measures aimed were long overdue.

Mr. Willkie has affirmed his own belief in the necessity of reform and his own support of the major reforms of the Roosevelt Administrations. Because of this he has been attacked by the President's friends as a mere plagiarist who is now attempting to steal the New Deal's thunder, and an imposter who is trying to run "on the President's own program." This is a curious attitude for the President's friends to take: It is a curious attitude, because it suggests a belief that the New Deal has a monopoly on reform and wants nobody else to share in it. But the truth is that no faction and no party has a monopoly on reform in the United States; many men have shared in it and will continue to share in it. "Plagiarism" is beside the point. For seven years Mr. Roosevelt himself has been making daily use of important reforms introduced by Republican Administrations—among them the Sherman Anti-Trust Law, the Pure Food and Drug Act, the Children's Bureau, the executive budget, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

For ourselves, we welcome the fact that Mr. Willkie stands pledged to conserve rather than to destroy what is best in Mr. Roosevelt's reforms. We believe that these reforms would be safe in Mr. Willkie's hands, not only because Mr. Willkie is a man of good-will,but because his approach to the problems now before us shows him to be a liberal. He is enough of a student and enough of a realist to know that we are living in a changing time and that it is both necessary and desirable that the Government should take an increasingly active part in policing the financial markets, iu safeguarding labor's right to bargain collectively and in achieving social justice for underprivileged people.

More than this, we believe that Mr. Willkie could be relied upon not to make some of the mistakes and not to take some of the risks which Mr. Roosevelt has made and taken. we believe that while Mr. For Roosevelt has helped enormously to awaken the social conscience of this country, and that while he deserves lasting credit for this leadership, Mr. Roosevelt has also put his own re-forms in peril. He has put them in ignoring or by failing to peril by understand the fundamental problem of increased production; by encouraging great numbers of Americans to believe that it is possible to grow richer by working less and producing less; by fostering the idea that there exists somewhere a great fund of wealth which has only to be divided more equitably in order to make everybody prosperous; by permitting important members of his Administration to preach the doctrines of class jealousy and class hatred.

Mr. Willkie stated the case accurately when he said that "American liberalism does not consist merely in reforming things;" It consists also in making things." It consists in expanding the production of the necessities and the good things of life. Wealth is only another word for production; and in the long run there is no other way to achieve a higher standard of living for the whole people of a nation than to produce goods in abundance.

We believe that Mr. Willkie understands this crucial point better than Mr. Roosevelt, and that he would be more likely to succeed in putting this principle into practice.

## III. "The Road to Bankruptcy"

In the field of fiscal policy our dissent from the course pursued by Mr. Roosevelt dates from his first year in office. We expressed this dissent in 1936, even while supporting him for reelection, and ventured then to express the hope that he would pursue a more responsible fiscal policy during his second term in office. Unfortunately, his course during his second term has become still more reckless.

We cite evidence at three points to support this statement.

(1) The fantastic silver policy of the Roosevelt Administration, scarcely begun in 1936, has now grown to almost incredible propor-tions. More than two billion ounces at a metal for which our Government has no earthly use-approximately a hundred times as much silver as all the siver-mines in the United States produced in the year before this policy began—have been bought by the Treasury at over-valued prices in an artificial market. This policy makes no sense, except as a political manoeuvre to win the support of the so-called "silver bloc." Otherwise its only visible results have been to drive off the silver standard the one important country which had previously been on it and to take from other nations useless silver in exchange for our own good wheat and oil and motor cars and other exports. There is only one way to describe such a policy as this. It leads over the hills to the poorhouse.

(2) The national budget, which was originally to be balanced so courageously, has been continously out of balance since Mr. Roosevelt entered office. The national debt has more than doubled in seven years. It is true that the new defense program has now made a balanced budget hopeless at the moment. But even before this program was proposed the Administration was operating under a gigantic deficit and spending far more money an-nually than had ever been raised by taxation in any year in the whole history of the United States. Moreover, the problem of the budget is not less serious, but far more serious, because of the new difficulties presented by the defense program. For the sake of conserving the national credit in a time of danger, expenditures other than those for defense ought now to be cut to a point at which they balance tax yields. But the Administration, with whom borrowing has become a habit, has not proposed a single important as an offset against its economy huge defense spending.

(3) The fundamental trouble is that the Administration has thrown overboard the central fiscal theory in which it professed to believe, even as late as 1936. It has abandoned the idea that the best contribution it could make to re-employment and recovery is to put its own fiscal house in order. It now believes, and the President frankly says this in his budget messages, that when business is lagging the Government ought to go in debt deliberately in order to "create purchasing power" and "energize private enterprise." This is the perfect Politician's Paradise-a paradise in which public money is spent on a gigantic seale without any responsibility of raising an equivalent amount of money by taxation.

We believe that the results of a continuation of this policy will be

precisely what Mr. Roosevelt himself said they would be in 1932—"If, like a spendthrift, a nation throws discretion to the winds and is willing to make no sacrifice at all in spending \* \* \* it is on the road to bankruptey." We believe that there is no real possibility whatever of checking the present trend toward bankruptcy so long as Mr. Roosevelt remains in office. It will be a desperately hard task at best. The only present hope lies in a change of Administrations.

#### IV. The Third Term Issue

We come, finally, in the choice before us, to an issue which has been defined by more than a hundred years of American history, by the deliberate decision of some of our greatest Presidents and by the reluctance of many Americans today to surrender what they believe to be a safeguard of the democratic system—the issue of the third term.

From Mr. Roosevelt's own statement in his radio acceptance speech to the Democratic National Convention the country knows that even as late as a year ago he had no inten-tion of challenging the tradition against a third term: "Last September it was still my intention to announce clearly and simply at an early date that under no conditions would I accept re-election." This announcement was never made; when the President finally declared his intentions regarding the third his intentions regarding the third term he did not say that "under no conditions would he accept re-elect-ion," but merely that he "had no wish to be a candidate again"—a very different statement. The practical effect of the postponement was to lessen greatly the chance of any other Democrat to receive his party's nomination. The practical effect of the change in the character of the President's announcement was to en-courage the "draft," which some of the highest officials of his own Ad-ministration had long favored and long worked to bring about. From these facts it seems to us that only one conclusion can be drawn. As the situation created by the war devel-oped, the President came to regard his own personal leadership as in-dispensable and to believe that there was no other member of his party, however trusted, however close to him, however deeply in accord with his own convictions about the war or about domestic issuses, who could safely take his place.

The doctrine of one man's indispensability is a new doctrine for this country. It is a doctrine which less scrupulous men in Europe have used to root themselves in power. It is a doctrine which we in the United States have good reason to question, particularly when we consider how the powers of the Presidency have grown, what immense patronage, what gigantic expenditures, what enormous power to perpetuate himself in office is now within the grasp of any President of the United States.

These considerations are especially relevant when the particular President who now chooses to remain in office for a third term is the same President who has never surrendered voluntarily a single one of the vast "emergency" powers which Congress has given him. He is the same President who has shown himself so impatient of constitutional restraints that he was willing to cirby aiding enough members to it to give his own opinions a majority. In the defeat of Mr. Roosevelt and

In the defeat of Mr. Roosevelt and the election of Mr. Willkie there is an opportunity to safeguard a tradition with the wisdom of long experience behind it.

#### \* \* \*

These are our primary reasons for supporting Mr. Willkie and for strongly urging his election.

In supporting him we do not intend to lose that independence upon which we have always put chief emphasis or to compromise our own convictions. We shall continue to support such of Mr. Roosevelt's views and acts as we find deserving of support. We shall criticize and oppose any of Mr. Willkie's views they seem to us to lack merit. Above all, we shall do our best keep our own part in this campaign free of personal controversy and focused on the great issues now before the country. In a time of danger the clearest duty of every good American is to help conserve that national unity which is our richest heritage.

# THIRTY-FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA CALVARY BAPTIST CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D.C., NOVEMBER 24-26, 1940 Meported by Laura Lindley

Certain high lights marked the 31st national convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America held in its birth-place, Calvary Baptist Church, Washington, D.C., which may be summarized briefly:

1. During the past year the wet drive has apparently been stopped, as avidenced by the fact that for the first time since repeal two states, in statewide votes, voiced opposition to the legalized sale of Liquor. Other states showed increasing no-license votes under local option.

2. A more definite awakening on the part of the church to the social conditions growing out of the present lax system of liquor sale.

3. Increasing cooperation by church and civic groups with temperance efforts.

4. Scientific bodies, public health officials, and economists are taking increased note of the social and economic toll exacted by the liquor traffic.

5. A growing awareness of the importance of morale and physical efficiency in the present national defense program, and the effect of liquor on both civilian and military activities.

6. Organized temperance work is being undertaken in a greater number of states.

Excerpts from the addresses delivered at the convention follow:

In his address of welcome the pastor of Calvary Baptist Church, Dr. Wm. S. Abernethy, recalled the historic day, December 18, 1895, when the Anti-Saloon League was organized there, and voiced his belief that ground lost by the temperance forces would be regained.

MR. GEORGE W. CRABBE, General Secretary of the Anti-Saloon League of America, in his opening address on Sunday afternoon, spoke on the need of the church for the Anti-Saloon League, and the special need of the District of Columbia for this organization as all legislation for the District is enacted by a Congress elected by the states.

Mr. Crabbe stressed conditions at the training camps, where the Salvation Army, the Knights of Columbus, and the Y.M.C.A. are not allowed to function, while beer sale is permitted. "I believe," said Mr. Crabbe, "that every lover of the American home, every friend of the church, every man who believes in sobriety, decency and righteousness, and every woman in this land, ought to demand that around every Army camp there be thrown a dry zone that will say to the liquor business, 'You shall not plant your taverns and vice districts close to these camps.'"

BISHOF RALPH S. CUSHMAN, President of the Anti-Saloon League of America, in the convention key-note address, emphasized the spiritual and religious foundation of the League and its work. He said, in part:

"The thing I hate about the liquor traffic and drinking is fundamentally that it robs a man of communion and fellowship with this living Presence, my Lord. We are not merely dealing with the individual, we are dealing with an organized liquor traffic, an anti-social institution that seeks to fix this habit on men regardless of their views.

"I am interested in this battle primarily as a churchman. No other group is going to solve this problem. The scientists are helping us mightily, our scholars are helping us mightily, our policemen are helping us. But this is the battle of the living God. The people of our churches will have to recapture the meaning of that phrase in the New Testament, that faith without works is dead.

"You just can't build a church with cocktail drinking officials. You cannot build a vital church of Christ with cocktail drinking laymen. Hitlerism is not the greatest menace to America. Our moral indifference is a far greater menace. We are not going to have a church that is a living, vital thing if it stands dumb before these moral evils."

GOVERNOR LUREN D. DICKINSON, of Michigan, the last speaker on Sunday afternoon, urged a re-establishment of Anti-Saloon League methods over the entire country to curb the liquor traffic. He gave illustrations of its methods in legislation which secured the passage of temperance measures.

"We can trace at least 25 percent of crime to the liquor traffic," said the Governor. "And to the liquor traffic we can trace practically every evil of the country. God Almighty is never going to give us a great deal of help - and that is where we have to depend for help - until the pulpit and the members and officials of the church go after this thing."

## MONDAY AFTERNOON

SUPT. R. D. DEXHEIMER, of the Illinois Anti-Scloon League, told of the county organization for scientific temperance instruction in the schools of that state. Sixteen counties were covered in 1939, and by the close of this year it is expected that about 45 counties will have been covered. REV. H. H. DONNENWORTH, of the Illinois League, exhibited and explained the charts used in this work.

REV. HOWARD HYDE RUSSELL, D.D., founder of the Anti-Saloon League, gave a preview of his book, "The Dry War," which is a history of the temperance movement as he has seen it.

SUPT. S. P. McNAUGHT, of the Ohio Anti-Saloon League, spoke on "The Lure of the Quiz Book." The Ohio school law requires scientific temperance instruction to be given, but it is often neglected. A Quiz Book, compiled to answer the questions commonly asked concerning the alcohol problem, is used by the students of the 11th and 12th grades of the high schools. When the sponsor fund is secured in a county, its students are eligible to enter the contest. The boy and girl writing the best examination papers in a local school compete in the county. The highest standing boy and girl from each county is given a prize - a trip. Already groups of young people have been taken to Detroit, Washington, D.C., a cruise on the Great Lakes. and this year's winners will be taken to St. Petersburg, Florida, for the Anti-Saloon League convention which meets February 23, 24, 25, 1941.

MISS MARJORIE PTACEK, Youth Educational Secretary, Kansas United Dry Forces, spoke on "Modernizing the Beverage Alcohol Problem for Youth. She said:

"Youth wants a chance to talk over this problem of drink from an unbiased, scientific standpoint. We have been told that it is immoral to drink, but in a day and age when a reasonable answer is given for nearly every other social problem, few people understand actually what makes drinking a moral issue."

Kansas youth are saying, "Fight a style with a style," make it popular not to drink. They are putting on a "Buy dry" campaign, leaving cards saying, "I buy dry. I am one of a great group pledged not to patronize any business place that sells alcoholic beverages. I have kept that pledge today." They are also waging war against bill board advertising of liquor and getting many signs removed.

C. C. DENHAM, of Des Moines, Iowa, demonstrated "Blitzcrayon Strokes Against Booze Bunk" with clever cartoons.

# MONDAY EVENING

DR. OSCAR F. BLACKWELDER, pastor of the Lutheran Church of the Reformation, Washington, D.C., delivered an address on "The Church and American Democracy." He made four points:

1. The church must be the spear point in the struggle for human

freedom.

2. The church can be the spear point of freedom only as it interprets the mind of Christ, that there can be no freedom without justice. Instead of the Golden Rule, which can be very selfish, a Diamond Principle was proposed: Do unto others as Jesus would have you do unto them.

3. The church must offer the cement to hold society together and make possible government by the people.

4. The church's fourth contribution is to produce men and women of dependable character, capable of self-government, able to think not only technically but morally on public questions.

MR. ALONZO L. BAKER, of Los Angeles, California, Field Secretary of the Race Betterment Foundation, spoke on "For National Defense a Sober Nation." He declared that America needs machines of war, brainy man power, financial resources, and immense reserves of moral courage.

"We are not up against a theory today. We are up against Adolf Hitler and those who stand with him," said Mr. Baker. "Adolf Hitler is setting up a higher standard than anything that has been attempted in the United States. He set up a bureau which laid down twelve rules for the German people and those under his sway:

"II.Abstinence of youth from alcohol and tobacco.

endangered by either alcohol or tobacco.

"'S. Alcoholic abstinence whenever carrying special responsibilities, such as driving an auto; severe punishment to be imposed for alcoholic offenses.

"'4. Control of alcohol and tobacco advertising by a German business council in close cooperation with Nazi leaders.

"'5. Prohibition of advertising that promotes alcohol or tobacco as beneficial to health or useful in preventing disease.

"'6. Use of at least a third of alcohol consumption taxes for establishing settlements for hereditarily sound families comprised of numerous children.

"'7. Establishment of public restaurants which do not serve alcoholic drinks.

"'8. Increase in manufacture of non-alcoholic drinks at low prices.

"'9. Promotion of scientific experiments on non-alcoholic drinks.

"10. A publicity campaign on the nature of alcohol, the misuse of tobacco, and their dangers to the people and the race.

"11. Education of youth in wholesome conduct as a national duty.

"12. Physical exercise for the entire nation."

"It took five weeks to wipe out France. They said her army was the last word in military training, yet in five weeks she went by the board. What happened to France? A dispatch from Vichy on August 24 said, 'A government spokesman said today that alcohol was one of the chief causes of the moral collapse of France under attack.' The other causes named were tubercolosis, cancer, and syphilis.

"Those soldiers sat there in their little, cooped-up quarters and had eight or nine months to kill while Adolf Hitler was attending to the Poles and to Scandinavia. The French soldiers had nothing to do but play cards and drink. A single hospital had 814 cases of delirium tremens in the month of January alone. And people tell me you do not get drunk on wine! At the end of that disastrous era of intoxication of the young French soldiers, the Germans came and swept across them in five weeks. The French people have consumed more gallens of alcoholic beverages per capita since the last war than any other nation in the world.

"What is America going to do? Is it going to train the boys to be Tony Galentos? Since repeal in 1933 we have spent 20 billion dollars for liquors. That is in addition to bootleg liquor. That would more than pay for all the preparedness program in which the United States is engaged today, and for which we will be paying for the next 50 to 75 years.

"They tell us that this war may go on for five or six years yet. If we spend 3½ billions a year for liquor for the next six years, in addition to the 20 billions already spent, that will be 41 billion dollars since repeal to the end of the war. We could build the greatest Navy in the world, we could have the greatest array of bombers and pay cash for them, if we would take the money we are spending for booze and put it into the defense program of the United States.

"In Pennsylvania, Governor Arthur James closed every saloon on October 16, the day of conscription. He said, 'We do not want any distracting influences while our boys are going to sign up under the Selective Service Act.' If we cannot have distracting influences when the boys sign up for war, is it logocal to have distracting influences while the boys are training - or fighting, if ever they do?

# 31st National Convention - 4.

"The other day the Commander in Chief of the Swiss Army said to the youth, 'Among the scourges humanity has invented some are brutal, others insinuate themselves as pleasures. Alcohol is one of these. Defense will be incomplete unless we put the people on guard against alcoholism. Sobriety is for you a national duty no less than a matter of personal dignity. Strive to preserve all your energies for her service. It is an effort of self-discipline.'

"If they feel that physical efficiency and war preparation are absolutely incompatible with alcoholism, then how can we, who have to carry the banners of democracy today (Britain is the only other, and she is battling for her life) do it if we drink? Can we do it with 400,000 saloons? Can we do it spending  $3\frac{1}{2}$  billion dollars a year for liquor?"

BISHOP EDWIN H. HUGHES, of Washington, D.C., addressing the convention on "The Vocabulary of the Temperance Reform," deprecated the purloining of good words like "temperance" and "education" by the liquor interests.

"We may declare without injustice that many of our natural partners in the reform have been cowed," declared Bishop Hughes. "Their convictions may not have changed, but their confidence has departed. We have been put at a disadvantage by merciless propaganda. Here in Washington men, once with us in expression, are now specialists in silence.

"Truth has small chance with one who is himself a cluster of appetites. The craving stomach out-argues the bewitched brain. The omitted emphasis is the moral, and the emotional. We shall have to bring our intellects and our emotions into effective partnership. The stormy agitator must make common cause with the calm scientist.

"You do not change the nature of a rattlesnake, or extract one drop of poison from its fangs when you call it Crotalus Adamanteus. The name 'saloon' was created by the liquor traffic itself, yet it is now being avoided as if it were a linguistic plague. We have taverns now! But the fact is the same. The smell is the same. The disaster is the same. A cocktail parlor is simply a saloon in petticoats."

## TUESDAY AFTERNOON

DR. DAVID M. GARDNER, pastor of the First Baptist Church in St. Petersburg, Florida, and member of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, spoke on "Preparedness and the Liquor Problem." He charged that the same interests which sold munitions during the World War and grew rich therefrom, brought back the saloon and are now making money selling liquor. "I believe the most deadly form of alcoholic poison is beer, not hard liquor," he said.

The temperance forces of the nation are rejoicing over victories recently won in two states. DR. ALBERT D. BETTS, Executive Secretary of the S. C. Federated Forces for Temperance and Law Enforcement, spoke on "The South Carolina Victory for a Dry State." He told of the organization of the state after an advisory referendum had been submitted, proposing to repeal the legal sale of all alcoholic beverages and impose new taxes to replace lost revenue. The vote was taken on August 27, 1940, and resulted as follows:

> 189,361 for 130,366 against 58,995 majority for repeal of liquor sale. Official figures.

W. J. LOSINGER, superintendent of the Oklahoma Anti-Saloon League, related the story of the fight to retain state constitutional prohibition. In that state a majority of all the votes cast at the election is necessary to carry a measure. The vote on November 5, 1940, resulted as follows:

> 374,911 against - votes cast on the question 290,752 for 84,159 majority against, on direct vote on repeal. Official figures.

847,770 - Total number of votes cast at the election 423,886 - Number of votes needed for a wet majority <u>290,752</u> - Number of wet votes cast 133,134 - Number of votes by which repeal failed.

MR. EDWARD B. DUNFORD, Attorney for the Anti-Saloon League of America, spoke on "Democracy in Action." "The 21st Amendment did not repeal all of prohibition," he said. "The second section provides, 'The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.' MR. ALONZO L. BAKER, of Los Angeles, California, Field Secretary of the Race Betterment Foundation, spoke on "For National Defense a Sober Nation." He declared that America needs machines of war, brainy man power, financial resources, and immense reserves of moral courage.

"We are not up against a theory today. We are up against Adolf Hitler and those who stand with him," seid Mr. Baker. "Adolf Hitler is setting up a higher standard than anything that has been attempted in the United States. He set up a bureau which laid down twelve rules for the German people and those under his sway:

":I.Abstinence of youth from alcohol and tobacco.

"12. Abstinence of pregnant and nursing mothers; abstemiousness by those endangered by either alcohol or tobacco.

"'8. Alcoholic abstinence whenever carrying special responsibilities, such as driving an auto; severe punishment to be imposed for alcoholic offenses.

"'4. Control of alcohol and tobacco advertising by a German business council in close cooperation with Nazi leaders.

"'5. Prohibition of advertising that promotes alcohol or tobacco as beneficial to health or useful in preventing disease.

"'6. Use of at least a third of alcohol consumption taxes for establishing settlements for hereditarily sound families comprised of numerous children.

"17. Establishment of public restaurants which do not serve alcoholic drinks.

"'8. Increase in manufacture of non-alcoholic drinks at low prices.

"'9. Promotion of scientific experiments on non-alcoholic drinks.

"10. A publicity campaign on the nature of alcohol, the misuse of tobacco, and their dangers to the people and the race.

"'ll. Education of youth in wholesome conduct as a national duty.

"12. Physical exercise for the entire nation."

"It took five weeks to wipe out France. They said her army was the last word in military training, yet in five weeks she went by the board. What happened to France? A dispatch from Vichy on August 24 said, 'A government spokesman said today that alcohol was one of the chief causes of the moral collapse of France under attack.' The other causes named were tubercolosis, cancer, and syphilis.

"Those soldiers sat there in their little, cooped-up quarters and had eight or nine months to kill while Adolf Hitler was attending to the Poles and to Scandinavia. The French soldiers had nothing to do but play cards and drink. A single hospital had El4 cases of delirium tremens in the month of January alone. And people tell me you do not get drunk on wine! At the end of that disastrous era of intoxication of the young French soldiers, the Germans came and swept across them in five weeks. The French people have consumed more gallens of alcoholic beverages per capita since the last war than any other nation in the world.

"What is America going to do? Is it going to train the boys to be Tony Galentos? Since repeal in 1933 we have spent 20 billion dollars for liquors. That is in addition to bootleg liquor. That would more than pay for all the preparedness program in which the United States is engaged today, and for which we will be paying for the next 50 to 75 years.

"They tell us that this war may go on for five or six years yet. If we spend  $3\frac{1}{2}$  billions a year for liquor for the next six years, in addition to the 20 billions already spent, that will be 41 billion dollars since repeal to the end of the war. We could build the greatest Navy in the world, we could have the greatest array of bombers and pay cash for them, if we would take the money we are spending for booze and put it into the defense program of the United States.

"In Pennsylvania, Governor Arthur James closed every saloon on October 16, the day of conscription. He said, 'We do not want any distracting influences while our boys are going to sign up under the Selective Service Act.' If we cannot have distracting influences when the boys sign up for war, is it logocal to have distracting influences while the boys are training - or fighting, if ever they do? "In other words," declared Mr. Dunford, "the repealists wrote prohibition in the repeal amendment. I think it is up to us to use what seems to me to be a very effective medium for temperance progress. If there had been simply the first section and nothing more, we would have returned simply to the legal status that existed before the 'noble experiment.'

Another result is that, so far as liquor is concerned, it is in a different category from that of any other commodity in interstate commerce. The liquor traffic was not given any constitutional status. It still exists by sufference and is subject to the degree of control or prohibition that the people see fit to impose upon it.

"Already we have seen some illustrations of what this means. The Congress has exerted some of the Federal power in aid of the states. It passed the Federal Alcohol Administration Act. One of the provisions of that Act requires a distiller or importer of spirituous or vinous liquors doing business across state lines to secure a permit before engaging in business. This permit is issued upon compliance with all Federal laws, including the prohibition against introduction of liquor into a state in violation of state law, and can be revoked if there is evidence of violation.

"In addition to the permit system, there are other provisions we did not have before national prohibition. For example, the prohibition of false advertising, regulation of labeling and certain trade practices, tied houses, lending excessive credit, guaranteeing loans, establishing quotas, consignment sales, offering premiums or bonuses to push certain sales, all are brought under the control of the F.A.A. Act.

"Not only does the Federal government have that power, but Congress has reallocated the responsibility to police the liquor traffic between the state and the nation. The Federal government has control over the liquor traffic in exclusively Federal territory, such as the District of Columbia and the Territories; it controls all mediums of interstate commerce, and can deny the right to stimulate liquor sale by radio.

"The states, under our democratic system, can set up that system of liquor control or regulation or prohibition which is best suited to their own peculiar needs. If majority sentiment is for prohibition, we can have state prohibition, and as the states gradually adopt restrictions on the liquor traffic we can drive it back and lessen the extent of its operations. Coupled to that is the power inherent in the Federal government to aid the state in enforcing its laws.

"We should learn some lessons from our experience under the Eighteenth Amendment. Under our democratic system of government, where the people elect their officials, we should be careful to see that the legislation sought is in harmony with the majority sentiment of the people who are to live under it and who elect the local officials to enforce it. Otherwise we shall have the same difficulties in enforcement and administration that we encountered before.

"Some people still talk about a return to the Eighteenth Amendment, or adopting a new constitutional amendment for prohibition. I do not think that is necessary. I believe if we analyze this enlarged power on the part of the state, where the policing must be done, and the operation of the Federal government in those fields which are traditionally Federal functions, we shall have perhaps the best approach to this question that we have had at any time in our national history.

"The New Deal has taught us many things. Some are very worth while in their objectives. We have had no constitutional amendment with respect to any of them - such as the Social Security Act, the Wage and Hour law, the Lindbergh Kidnaping law, etc. They have come in response to public demand and the exercise by Congress either of the taxing power or of the power to regulate commerce across state lines.

"There is also the question of national defense. In all previous wars the government placed restrictions on the sale of liquor. In some of them dry zones were created around munitions factories and establishments engaged in the manufacture of war materials.

"The Selective Training and Service Act of 1940 makes no provision with respect to this subject. Therefore, so far as the law is concerned, there is nothing dealing with the liquor traffic in connection with our preparedness program. We must bear in mind that the power of Congress to deal with this situation in time of peace differs from its power in time of war. Under the present situation, the control and regulation of the liquor business, and granting or denying licenses is largely a matter of state control.

### 31st National Convention - 6.

"The Federal government can exercise a certain measure of influence by choosing where it will place camps and grant contracts for war products in order to insure the least interference by riquor with the defense program. The military authorities can control the men in uniform, but neither they nor the President nor the Secretaries of WLr and the Navy can say to the people living in the area of a camp, 'You cannot sell liquor there.' The military authorities can confine the men to quarters and permit them to patronize only certain businesses. If they lost the patronage of the boys in the camps the state authorities might recognize the necessity of dealing with this matter. Congress cannot prohibit the sale of liquor in a state in peace time, but it can in war time. It should also be noted that the present Selective Service Act deals with men who are of ago, 21 and above. In former wars we took them at 18."

HARRY B. SOWERS, of the American Issue Publishing Company, told of the millions of pages of temperance literature turned out every year at Westerville, Ohio. About 125,000 copies of different magazines are published every month.

TUESDAY EVENING .

DR. F. SCOTT McBRIDE, superintendent of the Pennsylvania Anti-Saloon League, and a member of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, addressed the convention on "Forward the American Way."

Dr. McBride declared, "We march on four fronts: 1. Bigger and better education by means of movies, the stereopticon, the drama, public meetings, and youth movements. 2. Bigger and better enactments of laws in the states and at the national Capital. 3. Bigger and better elections for local option and for legislative officials, state and Congressional. 4. Bigger and better enlistments of churches and individuals for financial support of the movement."

REV. SAM MORRIS, National Field Speaker for the Anti-Saloon League of America, delivered an address on "The Folly of Prohibition Repeal."

Mr. Morris told how the Federal government had failed to keep faith with the dry states; the increase in drunkenness, intoxicated drivers, and traffic deaths since repeal; the failure of liquor revenue to help balance the budget or reduce the national debt; the persistence of bootlegging; the fallacy of the argument that repeal would help the farmer, as only 3.2 percent of the total crop of grains commonly used in making alcoholic beverages was used for this purpose in 1938, while large quantities of grain, particularly rice, used in making liquors, was imported, not American-grown. He said:

"In his acceptance speech President Roosevelt said, 'We must rightly and morally prevent the return of the saloon.' And in his proclamation repealing the Eighteenth Amendment he said:

"'I ask especially that no state shall by law or otherwise authorize the return of the saloon, either in its old form or in some modern guise.'

"We have changed the name; we have changed the one serving the drinks; but we have not changed the drink. You can't change the drink by using a girl to serve it instead of big, red-nosed bartenders. The 'guise,' whether 'old' or 'modern' has nothing whatever to do with the effects of the drink. The harm of drink does not grow out of the building in which it is sold, the name on the front of the building, or the gender of the one serving the drink. The harm grows out of what the drink is and what it does.

"Every evil for which repeal was recommended as a remedy has remained unchanged or has been aggravated by it. It has complicated the evils and added new ones. It has proven a fake remedy, a quack cure. The public is fast coming to see that the drink problem is the problem of drink. Legalizing the drink, putting it in the hands of so-called 'law-abiding citizens,' 'clean-up or close-up' campaigns these are all shams and subterfuges by which an evil traffic seeks to foist itself upon the public and perpetuate itself in power. A bottle of beer, whiskey or wine sold by a deacon of this church or a Methodist is as bad as a can of booze in the back alley.

"Let's quit making excuses for being dry. Let's quit buying our meals in places where they sell liquor. Let's quit putting our money into their goods. If what I have said is so, let's get in earnest about it. I get a kick out of taking up a collection. I am not ashamed to ask you to invest in this fight. Some may say, 'I don't think much of the Anti-Saloon League.' The devil doesn't either! come people are dry in the mouth but not in the pocket book. Our task is to convert ne wets and enlist the drys."

# R E S O L U T I O N S ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS of the ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA at the 31st BIENNIAL CONVENTION CALVARY BAPTIST CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C.. NOVEMBER 26, 1940

Resolved, That in view of the steady growth of sentiment throughout the nation against the evil results which have followed the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, the Anti-Saloon League of America goes forth to battle against this great enemy of our homes, our schools, our churches, and of all society, with renewed vigor and courage, and with the determination to agitate for the creation of such a public sentiment in our nation as will once again put the ban of the criminal upon the beverage alcohol traffic.

hesolved, Second, that in carrying on our work we most heartily welcome the cooperation of every organization which is lined up in the warfare against this common enemy of the race.

Resolved, Third, that we urge as fundamental that scientific temperance teaching be given in all our public schools.

Resolved, Fourth, that we call for the prohibition by state and national laws of all advertising of intoxicating liquor. We especially commend the bill introduced by Senator Johnson, of Colorado, to prevent the advertising of intoxicants over the radio.

Resolved, Fifth, that we would especially emphasize the importance of local option, or home rule, and we urge the extension of the principle of the prohibition of the liquor traffic in the largest practicable unit of government as rapidly as supporting sentiment is developed. In accordance with this principle, we favor zoning restrictions against the sale of alcoholic liquors in the neighborhood of churches and schools, or in residential areas, at filling stations, or in rural or inadequately policed areas.

Resolved, Sixth, that in view of the continuous slaughter on our highways by drinking drivers, we urge the use of a scientific test to be applied to all suspected drinking drivers, and the severe punishment of men who are convicted of driving under the influence of intoxicants, as such drivers are potential murderers.

Resolved, Seventh, that we call upon the Federal government for more adequate enforcement of the 21st Amendment to protect the states against unlawful importation of Liquors, and for more adequate appropriations by the Federal government to make such enforcement possible. We also recommend that all brewers engaged in interstate commerce be required to obtain a basic permit, such as is required of distillers, and that they be subject to the same rules and penalties for such offenses committed across state lines as are now imposed upon distillers.

Resolved, Eighth, that in view of the Conscription Act recently passed by Congress which will call up millions of men from twenty-one to thirty-five for training in military encampments, we unite with the Federal Council of Churches in calling upon the President and upon the Secretaries of War and of the Navy to frame such regulations concerning intemperance and vice as will give to our soldiers and sailors in the Army and Navy as great protection as was given to them by the provisions of the Selective Draft Act in 1917, which provisions, by the testimony of ranking officers of the Expeditionary Force, produced one of the cleanest, finest Army ever assembled in the history of the world. We protest most earnestly that the calling of our young manhood from their homes to the training camps shall not give to the liquor traffic an opportunity to increase the profits of their ungodly business at the expense of the young manhood and the homes of our country.

Resolved, Ninth, that we extend our thanks to the pastor, Dr. Wm. S. Abernethy, and to the congregation of Calvary Baptist Church for the use of the auditorium and other portions of the building for the carrying on of the work of our convention. We also express our appreciation of the fact that so many of the churches in the City of Washington and of Arlington opened their pulpits for the presentation of the work of the League on Sunday, November 24, and Saturday, November 23. BISHOP JAMES CANNON, Jr., a member of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, delivered the final address on the subject, "The Lamp of Experience."

Bishop Cannon declared that the mission of the church is to seek and save that which is lost, to bear witness to the truth, and to destroy the works of the devil, the greatest of which today is the liquor traffic. Prohibition came when the church thundered against the traffic.

"We never had a President during the whole time that the Eighteenth Amendment was the law of the land who gave himself unreservedly and whole-heartedly to the enforcement of that law," said Bishop Cannon. "In 1928 we thought we elected a President who had a mandate from the people, with an overwhelming majority of the House and Senate behind him. Mr. Hoover pledged me face to face that he would give honest, effective, vigorous enforcement to the Eighteenth Amendment. If he had asked Congress for 100 million dollars, or as much as was necessary to furnish the men to adequately enforce the law, he would have gotten it. He had the Congress, he had the country behind him. For some reason, I do not know why, he never did.

"Mr. Roosevelt, before he was elected President, made a speech at Sea Girt, New Jersey, on only one subject, prohibition. He said, 'I pledge the nation that the saloon shall never return and that the dry states shall be protected.' He said it just as plainly and as broadly as that. And many people believed it. I did not believe it. I do not mean that I do not believe Mr. Roosevelt meant it, but I knew it was impossible to manufacture intoxicating liquor without having a place to sell it.

"He said the saloon should never return. There it is. So far as I know, not one word of anxiety or solicitude or distress or interest has come from the White House about the condition which exists in Washington, which, I rather think I am speaking fairly, is as intoxicated a city as any we have in the country.

"The church of Jesus Christ is still strong enough in this country to be effective if the pastors will thunder a proclamation of the truth against the liquor traffic. Until they do we will not be able to put the brand of the criminal on the liquor traffic again. When they do it, and the Anti-Saloon League is once again 'The Church in action against the saloon,' we will sweep to victory.

"I think the churches are face to face with the liquor traffic on a question which they cannot dodge - their responsibility for the protection of our young manhood in the training camps all over this nation. In 1917 a bill was passed which forbade the sale of liquor to any man in uniform.

"Mr. Dunford and I recently went to see Senator Sheppard about the provisions of the Selective Draft Act of 1940. There is nothing in it about liquor. I asked him whether he would get a resolution passed by the Federal Council of Churches into the proper hands. He said he would. The Board of Directors of the Anti-Saloon League adopted a resolution today on this subject. I wonder if this audience will not support that proposition and rise, and by that action call upon the President and the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy to take such action as will protect our soldiers and sailors from intemperance and vice. (The audience rose and applauded.) Per Capita Consumption of Alcoholic Beverages - 2.

State	Spirits	Wine	Beer	Total, in gal.
TENNESSEE *Estim. from_report TEXAS	.57* for 5 months, 1 .665	.086* 1940. .394	3.6 Year end. 7.78	4.256 12-31-40 8.839
Year end. 12-31-40 UTAH	.862	.604	8.32	9.786
Year 1940 VERMONT	.743	instead together	8.76	9.523
· Year end. 6-30-39 · VIRGINIA	Beer and wine : 1.31	.75	6.35	8.41
Year end. 6-30-40 WASHINGTON	1.06	1.01	11.23	13.30
Year end. 12-31-40 WEST VIRGINIA	1.162	.2	9.6	10.962
Year end. 6-30-40	0	.477	16.33	20.987
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA Year end. 12-31-40	4.18	• 44 1	~~~~	

The five states having the highest per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages are as follows. It will be noted that Washington, D.C., leads all the rest in consumption of spirits, California in wine, Michigan in beer.

Delaware 1.736 N. Mex. 1.12 I	Md. 19 Ill. 18	9.266 N 3.62 M	N. Y. Mich.	22.60 21.85 21.60 21.165
-------------------------------	-------------------	-------------------	----------------	-----------------------------------

Whether the state monopoly system reduces liquor consumption as compared with the license system is not conclusively shown in this study, though consumption appears to be greater in the license states.

It is clear, however, that in those states with a fairly large percentage of local option territory there is a drop in per capita consumption. Thus, Michigan, New York, Maryland, Illinois and Connecticut, which have little local option territory, and Nevada, with none, all have a per capita consumption of over 20 gallons. On the other hand, Vermont, with nearly half the towns dry for beer, and 2/3rds of them dry for spirits; and Florida, with 1/3rd of the counties dry for liquor over 3.2% of alcohol, have a per capita consumption of over 9 gallons. Maine, with 2/3rds of the towns dry for spirits and beer ON sale, and half of them for beer OFF sale, has a per capita consumption of 8 gallons. Kentucky, with 50 of the 120 counties dry, has a per capita consumption of 7 gallons, while Tennessee, with 66% of the population in dry territory, consumed 4 gallons per capita in 1940.

Mon Per cap. <u>consumpti</u>	- • •	State T.talper consump.	r cap.	Per cap.	cense spir. on	State Total per consump.	cap.
Va.* Mich.* W. Va.* N. H.* Oregon* Wish.* Maine* Utah Idaho Iowa Vt.*	1.31 1.18 1.162 1.11 1.06 1.06 .86 .862 .848 .753 .743	Oregon*	11.31	D. C. Nevada Conn.* Del.* Ill.* Calif. N. J.* Mass.* Md.* Minn.* N. Y.* Neb.* Mo.* R. I.* Fla.* Ariz. Ind. Colo.* Ky.* N. Mex.* Texas* S. C. Tenn.*	4.18 2.88 1.99 1.736 1.66 1.55 1.49 1.386 1.29 1.27 1.13 1.087 1.062 1.01 .966 .943 .94 .76 .739 .665 .628 .57	N. J.* Nevada N. Y.* Md.* Ill.* Conn.* R. I.* Minn.* Culif. Mass.* Del.* Mo.* Neb.* Ind. Colo.* Ariz. Fla.* Texas* Ky.* N. Mex.* Tenn.* S. C.	22.77 $22.60$ $21.85$ $21.165$ $20.84$ $20.67$ $19.904$ $18.898$ $16.2$ $15.93$ $15.532$ $14.628$ $14.28$ $11.743$ $11.17$ $10.215$ $9.46$ $8.839$ $7.636$ $5.789$ $4.256$ $3.469$
						D 0	00 100

D. C.

20.987

\*Indicates state has some form of local option.

	* 13 1
Laura Lindley, Research Secretary	L-41-4
	0 / 17
121 BSt SF Weakington DO	2-6-41
131 B St. S.E., Washington, D.C.	

# PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES

A survey made by the Anti-Saloon League in 37 states and the District of Columbia shows that two states, New Jersey and Nevada, have already equalled the all-time record of a per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages in excess of 22 gallons made by the nation as a whole between 1907 and 1914, while New York, Michigan, and Maryland are close rivals with a per capita consumption of more than 21 gallons. The record, taken from the official reports of the state liquor authorities, is as follows:

State	Sp.	irits	Wine	Beer	Total, in gal.
ARIZONA		. 966	1.027	8.222	10.215
Year 1940 CALIFORNIA		1.6	3.0	11.6	16.2
Year end. 6 COLORADO	-30-40	• 94	. 70	9.33	11.17
Year 1940 CONNECTICUT		1.99	.60	18.08	20.67
Year end. 6 DELAWARE Year 1940		1.736	.396	13.4	15.532
FLOKIDA Year end. 1		1.01 .	.742	7.71	9.46
GEORGIA Zear 1940		.516			
IDAHO Year end. 1	.2-31-39	.848	.406	8.41 Year 1940	9.664
ILLINOIS Year end. 1		1.66	.56	18.62	20.84
INDIANA Year end. 1		.943	.130	10.669	11.743
IUWA Year end. 6		.753	.057	10.50 Yr. end. 12-30	
KENTUCKY Year end. 6		.76	.056	6.82	7.636
MAINE Year end. 6	6-30-39	.86	.106	7.81	8.78
MARYLAND Year end. 9	-	1.386	.513	19.266	21.165
MASSACHUSETTS Year end.		1.49	.75	13.69	15.93
	12-31-40, compu			20.42 Year end. 12-3	21.60 31-39
MINNESOTA	uded with spiri	1.29	.168	17.44	18.898 .
Year end. I MISSISSIPPI	12-31-40			1.8	1.8
Year 1940 MISSOURI	12 21 20 .	1.087	• .373	13.168	14.628
Year end. 1 NEBRASKA Year 1940	12-)1-)7	1.13	.15	13.00	14.28
NEVADA Year end.	12-31-10	2,88	1.58	18.14	22.60
NEW HAMPSHIR Year 1940		1.11	.13	14.75	15.99
NEW JERSEY	12-31-40. esti		· 1.27 Nos. report to 1	19.95 1-30-40.	22.77
NEW MEXICO Year end.		.739	1.12	3.94	5.789
NEW YORK Year end.		1.27	.86	19.72	21.85
OHIO Year end.		. 978			
OKLAHOMA Year end.		. –	-	4.17	4.17
OKEGON Year end.		1.06	.78	10.45	12.29
RHODE ISLAND Year end.		1.062	.712	18.13	19.904
SOUTH CAROLI Year 1940		.628	.563	2.277	3.469

(Over)

Local Option	Elections	in	1940 -	- Brief	Summary -	- 2.	
--------------	-----------	----	--------	---------	-----------	------	--

State	Question submitted			l elec- 5 held	Dry 1 9	Wet 4 O	<u>Gain</u> over		for
Vermont	Beer and wine Spirits			246 246	121 168	125 78	6	ī	
Virginia	Wine and beer Spirits		ę	2 2	1 1	1 1		-	
Wash.	Sale of liquor	1	,	. 1	- 1	l	-	1	
W. Va.	Alcoholic liquor over	5% .		2 .	1	1		<i></i> ,	
Wisconsir	n Question voted on not vote on liquor, and			48	Not gi	Lven	_	-	

# LOCAL OPTION LAWS CLASSIFIED

County option	County and other unit option	Municipal and/or township option	Option after special act of the Legislature Districts Co. & municip.
Alabama Florida Georgia Montana North Carolina Tennessee	Arkansas Kentucky Louisiana Michigan Minnesota Mississippi New Mexico Oregon Texas Virginia Washington West Virginia	Çolorado Connecticut Illinois Maine Massachusetts Missouri Nebraska New Hampshire New Jersey New York Ohio Pennsylvania Rhode Island South Dakota Vermont Wisconsin	Delaware Maryland
		TANG CLASSIFIED	**

# STATE LIQUOR LAWS CLASSIFIED

Const. pro. on spirits	Statutory pro. all liq.save beer and wine	Pro. and local dis- pensaries	State monopoly	License	License and local dis- pensaries
Kansas Oklahoma	Mississippi*	Alabama* Georgia* N. Carolina*	Idaho Iowa Maine* Michig an* Montana* New Hampshir e* Ohio* Oregon* Pennsylvania* Utah Vermont* Virginia Washington* W. Virginia* Wyoming	Arizona Arkansas* California Colorado* Connecticut* Delaware* Florida* Illinois* Indiana Kontucky* Louisiana* Massachusetts* Minnesota* Missouri* Nebraska* Nevada New Jersey* New Mexico* New York* North Dakota Rhode Island* South Carolina South Dakota* Tennessee* Texas* Wisconsin* D.C.	
		-			

· ·

\*States have some form of local option.

		And and a second se
Laura Lindley, Résearch Secretary-	L-41-3	
Bear Bindrey, Research Secretary-		
131 B St. S.F. Working to D.C.	2-6-41	
131 B St. S.E., Washington, D.C.		party specific diffe

# LOCAL OPTION ELECTIONS IN 1740 - BRIEF SURVEY

A survey made by the Anti-Saloon League of the local option elections shows that about 1,600 local communities - varying from a county to a ward - voted in 1940. Twelve states do not permit local option, and ten held no elections in 1940. In the other 26 states about 750 communities gave dry, and 850 wet majorities. Some reports do not indicate whether wets or drys made gains over 1939, but from available information it appears that the drys gained &l communities and the wets 15, or a net gain to the drys of 66. The best estimates are that since repeal about 12,400 local option elections have been held, of which the drys won 7,700. The 1940 summary follows:

State	Question submitted		elec- held	-	Wet 4 O	<u>Gain</u> drys	Loss for the second sec	
Alabama	State liquor store		4	2	2	1	-	
Arkansas	Liquor sale		3	3	-	1	-	
Colorado	Sale of malt, vinous, spir. liq.		5	3	2	3	-	
Conn.	All alcoholic liquors Beer		2 1	1	1 1	1 1	- · -	
Georgia	Liquor dispensaries		l	1	-	l	-	
Kentucky	Sale of liquors over 1% of alcohol	-	30	29	· 1	29	-	
Louisiana	Sale of alcoholic liquors		5	· · 4	· l	-	-	
Maine	State stores (5 tie votes) Wine and spirits ON sale (8 tie) Beer, ON sale (3 tie votes) Beer, OFF sale (2 tie votes)		504 504 504 504	295 328 298 262	168 203	7 44		
Mass.	All local sales of alcoholic bever Package stores only, OFF consump. Beer and wine, ON consumption only Beer and wine, ON consump. and pac age stores (Ques.2, 3)	7	351 351 351	82 · 13 4 15	·	-		
Michigan	Spirits in addition to beer and wi	ine	19	3	16	1	-	
Minn.	Sale of intox. liquor over 3.2%		32	28	4	-	3	
Miss.	Sale of beer		l	l	-	l	-	
N. H.	State Liquor stores Beer	- 	235 235	90 95		-	4 5	
N.J.	Ketail sale all alcoholic beverage	es	l	1		l	-	
N. Mex.	Sale of alcoholic liquors		1	-	l			
N. Y.	Retail sale of alcoholic beverages	S	17	8	9	-	5	
N. Car.	Liquor dispensaries		l	l	-	l	-	
Ohio	Sale of any intoxicating liquor Wine by package for OFF consumption Wine for consump. ON and OFF prem Spirituous liquors by the glass State liquor stores Beer Spirits by the glass	on •	37 37 37 37 37 37 38 2	19 19 21 23 21 20 1	16 16 14 15 18	-2tie - - -ltie -		
Oregon	Sale of all alcoholic liquor		1	1		1	-	
Tenn.	Sale of alcoholic beverages		6	3	3	• _	2	
Texas	Sale of beer Sale of 14% beverages Sale of all alcoholic beverages		37 5 9	28 4 4		3 - 9		

# Prohibition of Liquor Traffic and Vice Near Military Camps

 $\circ \diamond \diamond \circ$ 

# Speech of

 $( \otimes \otimes )$ 

# Hon. Theodore G. Bilbo

of Mississippi

in the

Senate of the United States March 12, 1942

> Not printed at Government expense

United States Government Printing Office, Washington : 1942

-

# 1 1 1 1 1

## and the second s

62

In the Interest of Effectual Defense and Ultimate Victory, in the Interest of the Physical and Mental Welfare of Our Defenders, For the Sake of Anxious Mothers and Wives, and in Memory of Our Late Lamented Colleague, Senator Sheppard, I Implore the Senate to Pass S. 850 Without Further Delay

### SPEECH OF

## HON. THEODORE G. BILBO

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

# March 12, 1942

Mr. BILBO. Mr. President, in asking the indulgence of the Senate on this occasion, I have no desire to delay the speedy consummation of the matter now pending before the Senate. I wish to say that I am in receipt of more letters and more complaints from my constituents dealing with the subject I now wish to discuss for a few minutes than I have received on any other question pending before Congress. I have received more letters of complaint on this particular subject than I have received complaining about strikes and congressional pensions.

Mr. President, shortly before his death last year, the late lamented and dearly beloved Senator Morris Sheppard, of Texas, introduced Senate bill 860 providing that in the interest of common defense no person, corporation, partnership, or association shall sell, supply, give, or have in his or its possession any alcoholic liquors, including beer, ale, or wine at or within any military camp, station, fort, post, yard, base, cantonment, training, or mobilization place which is being used at the time for military purposes; and to provide for the suppression of vice in said military establishments.

Senator Sheppard, "the dean of Congress," was the distinguished chairman of the highly important Committee on Military Affairs, a recognized student of military affairs, and also an ardent exponent of prohibition. His courageous and unrelenting fight for prohibition

throughout his long and honorable public career earned for him the title, "Father of Prohibition." The repeal of the eighteenth amendment was the abiding sorrow of his life, and thereafter on each anniversary of the passage of the eighteenth amendment, the Senator made a stirring speech in this Chamber condemning beverage alcohol as a threat to the health, happiness, and prosperity of our citizenship. In his address on January 16 of last year, he especially emphasized the evil of the liquor traffic in relation to national defense He condemned it as "a charge upon the public, intolerable in an era of strenuous effort toward national security and defense." He condemned it because "an alcoholdrinking democracy cannot develop the maximum strength for national defense."

It is significant to note, however, that in drafting Senate bill 860 Senator Sheppard very prudently avoided any scmblance of using it as a back-door approach to that intensely controversial subject of national prohibition. The measure is confined solely to national defense. It is strictly a war measure, relating to men in the service. In its essence the issue involved as pertaining to alcoholic beverage is whether or not alcohol shall be permitted to impair the efficiency of our armed forces for saving our country in this time of our Nation's severest crisis.

There is nothing new or bizarre about During World War No. 1 far more it. stringent steps were taken because they became necessary. Senator Sheppard knew that, because he played an important role in that wartime legislation. In the final analysis it even became necessary to pass what was called the Wartime Prohibition Act, prohibiting the manufacture of intoxicating liquor in the United States for the duration of the war. I might add that during the period of strict wartime prohibition the alcoholic death ratio dropped to 1 per 100,-000 population, compared with a ratio of 5.25 per 100,000 population for the 5 wet years, 1913 to 1917, inclusive. In other words, deaths from alcoholism decreased 80.8 percent during the wartime prohibition era. Senator Sheppard knew all that, yet he did not take advantage of current wartime conditions by trying to place in effect an all-over prohibition measure. With characteristic fairness,

451354-21862

he took a well-warranted step in the right direction and proposed a manifestly essential measure in the best interests of the defense program. I deem it the duty of the Congress to give early and favorable consideration to Senate bill 860, which would most surely go a long way to preserve and promote the efficiency of our defenders and help us win this World War No. 2.

During the past year my mail has been heavy with appeals from good citizens in every walk of life throughout my State and throughout the whole country, urging that Congress pass proper legislation to control the liquor evil around our training centers.

Mothers of young men in the service are especially insistent that we do something about the liquor problem. I do not blame them. We have exercised our power to call their boys into service, and those mothers are looking to us to see to it that their sons are afforded every reasonable protection from evils which lurk in the shadows to ensnare young men in uniform. They are expecting us to do everything within our power to send their boys home to them after it is all over, as fine and virile and upright as when they left their homes to join the colors of their country.

Now that we are in actual combative warfare on five oceans and seven seas, involving all the islands of the seas, it is doubly essential that we resolutely and uncompromisingly tackle the liquor problem existing in and around our military posts.

Let no one misunderstand my motives or my sentiments in regard to this subject. I have every confidence in the boys in our armed services. They are the flower of American manhood. For the most part they are courageous, intelligent, ingenious, and fervently patriotic; they have character and integrity. Almost to a man they are determined to win a victory so complete that freedom will ring down through the ages with a strength that no potential dictator would dare challenge. I would be the last to suggest imposing undue restraints on their personal liberties or to advocate too much regimentation. It is because I do have at heart the personal welfare of our service men and because I so highly cherish the priceless liberties to be defended by our men, that I am so seriously concerned with the problem of safeguarding them from exploitation by

the liquor traffic and lts accompanying evils.

I was Governor of my State during World War No. 1, and so have first-hand knowledge of and some experience in dealing with the kind of situation new under discussion. As a Member of the United States Senate, I have been profoundly interested in the affairs of the veterans of that war, helping to fight for adequate veterans' pensions, assisting veterans with compensation matters, and so on. It is heart-rending to note the number of physically and mentally disabled veterans whose conditions are attributed mainly to the effects of liquor habits and social diseases acquired while in the service. Such veterans have been denied compensation because the authorities hold that their conditions are due to their own misconduct. Fine, stalwart men they were, most of them; the pride of their mothers' hearts-but now physical and mental wrecks.

The crying need for immediately effective action to minimize the number of such cases in the current war is glaringly demonstrated in the recent statement of Dr. Parran, Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service. His report showed that tens of thousands of young men in our armed services were found to have contracted social diseases during the past year.

War-time psychology is such that sometimes even the best of boys, finding themselves stationed far away from the stabilizing influences of home, perhaps away from home for the first time in life, are easy prey for that most insidious of saboteurs—John Barleycorn. It is too frequently accepted as axiomatic that the soldier or sailor or aviator is entitled to take his fun where he finds it. The spirit seems to be "Drink, for tomorrow we may die." Even among young men in civilian life drinking gets to be more prevalent in war times. With them it is, "Drink, for tomorrow we are drafted."

It is certain that the proximity of liquor dispensaries encourages the liquor habit in boys who otherwise would not be likely to cultivate the drinking habit; and it ls our duty to do something about it.

It would seem to me that argument in favor of the pending measure should not be necessary. It should appeal, without question, to the intelligence and higher sentiments which actuate thinking men and women when dire and appalling crises have befallen humanity. We all

451354-21862

know that our boys should be kept as sober, as virile, and as alert at all times as it is possible to be in these perilous times when the safety of the Nation rests on their shoulders. Any military officer worthy of the name will tell us emphatically that our service men do not need alcohol. The recent statement of Col. George Skinner, Medical Corps, United States Army, Retired, is so straightforward and so appropriate to the subject,

that it warrants repetition here. I quote

Colonel Skinner: Today our development is so largely mechanical and our equipment moves at such speed that even the most ordinary routine of daily life requires the clearest brain and the most accurate and rapid muscular action possible. This is demonstrated daily by the number of traffic injuries, and as traffic is now mostly automobile, the injuries and deaths from this cause are appalling. A large percentage of them are the direct result of the use of alcoholic drinks. Why? We depend largely upon the quick action of the mind and the rapid response of the muscles to the needs of the body. The first action of alcohol is to break up the connection between the mind and body, to confuse the mind, and to slow muscular action. Hence, even if the mind notes that the body is in danger and orders the muscles to act, the order is badly mixed up in reaching the muscles, and the response may be directly opposite from what it should be. The worst of it is that the owner of the mind does not realize the difficulty and proceeds serenely on his destructive way until he is either killed, injured, or taken out of circulation some other way.

These reactions to alcohol operate as surely in the Army as in civil life. In our present defense needs, the protective armament is very largely mechanical and often exceedingly complicated, requiring the finest training and muscular response (coordination) possible. As a man's life-and the lives of others-in an airplane depends upon the accurate judgment and coordination of the pilot-and both judgment and coordination are badly disturbed by alcohol-it stands to reason that a man who indulges in alcohol is not going to be trusted with such an important assignment. The same is true in practically every other part of the modern army and if our country is to survive in a crisis depending upon defense, we must have trained defense forces relatively free from the disturbances of alcohol.

An air pilot who has alcoholic inclinations is not going to last long on his job, for not only is there danger to the lives of others besides himself but he is in charge of a very expensive machine which takes months to replace if damaged or destroyed, and by which the safety of our country may largely and radically be altered; and he would be removed entirely from his assignment. Not 451354-21662 only does he not have to drink to be a soldier, but if he does drink he cannot occupy any responsible position.

Mr. President, can anyone refute the profound and unimpeachable truth of Colonel Skinner's words? Most certainly not.

No sensible person, be he saint or sinner, total abstainer or the biggest drunkard in the country, would agree to risk his life in an airplane piloted by a drunken pilot or on a train run by a drunken No successful businessman engineer. would think of hiring men who would drink on the job to operate expensive machinery, or to build it. In fact, no successful businessman or organization will permit drinking on the job. Therefore. I contend that we are not taking away personal liberties of our service men when we take steps to curb alcoholism at their posts of duty.

We are appropriating billions and billions of dollars to buy planes, tanks, ships, and guns for the defense of our countly. It stands to reason that this equipment will not and cannot be any more efficient than the men who must operate it.

If there be any Senators who doubt that a country's defense is imperiled when the discipline of its defenders is relaxed, their virility and alertness impaired, and their sense of duty distorted by alcohol, let them look to the events of the past for incontrovertible proof that armies, nations, and causes have collapsed because of intemperance.

Incidentally, the American Business Men's Research Foundation has been doing some exhaustive research on the subject of war and liquor. No doubt other Senators received, as I did, a copy of the foundation's recent letter calling attention to historic cases of liquor mixed up with war. The gentlemen who constitute the foundation deserve our commendation for their gallant efforts. They have concluded and unequivocally declared:

Liquor has defeated more men, more armies, more nations than any other cause. It does seem that the lessons that history records should serve as an ample warning against this greatest of all enemies.

Mr. President, that statement, viewed lightly, may seem to be an exaggeration; the indictment too severe. Viewed maturely, in the strong light of historic fact, it is, indeed, convincing.

I submit that history, both sacred and profane, furnishes abundant evidence that time and time again alcohol has peen a contributing factor, if not the prime factor, in the defeat of armies on the battlefield and of nations in conflict with other peoples.

Holy Writ records—and surely no stable mind can doubt the Holy Word that Babylon, that celebrated city of antiquity, brought about its own ruin through drunkenness and dissipation.

It was when Belshazzar sat drinking wine out of the sacred vessels in his Babylonian palace, with his lords and multiple wives and other "ladies" of the court, that the writing came upon the wall in blazing letters, "Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting." It is thought that this particular night of revelry had been planned for the rulers and captains who had retreated before the advancing armies of Cyrus into the stronghold of Babylon. Doubtless the carousal was a desperate effort to draw the minds of all from the dangers that surrounded them. Be that as it may, there was much drinking, not only in the palace but throughout the great city. Wine flowed freely, and spirits were gay and abandoned. Belshazzar and his people felt secure within the vast stone walls with heavy gates of brass. But out in the country a few sturdy and diligent mountaineers had been digging ditches for some time, unnoticed. Nobody had taken much account of the humble ditch diggers; yet even that night, in the very midst of Belshazzar's wine-drenched revelry, the veteran troops of Cyrus were marching silently and steadfastly under the walls, down the bed of the lowered Euphrates, and the very pathway of Babylon's wealth and grandeur became the pathway of her ruin.

In that night was Belshazzar, the King of the Chaldeans, slain. And Darius, the Median, took the kingdom, being about threescore and 2 years old.

Holy Writ records that Nineveh, another proud city of antiquity, was destroyed by the Medes when the enemy came upon it in a night of sensual drinking and feasting. Nineveh, like Babylon, drank her hemlock of dissipation and was absorbed by the sands of the desert.

Holy Writ records that David defeated the Amalekites after they were found drunk celebrating a temporary victory.

Holy Writ records that Ahab surprised and defeated Benhadad, King of Syria, when he found him with 32 kings, "drinking themselves drunk in their pavilions."

451354-21862

In the realm of profane history let us take as one example Alexander the Great. He experienced triumph after triumph and longed for new worlds to conquer. His remarkable conquests, the charm of his dynamic personality, and the fervor of his spirit stirred the imagination of the whole world. Wherever he went he became a legendary figure. He was even acclaimed by some as the son of Zeus. Throughout the period of his phenomenal victories he was noted for his sobriety. Perhaps excessive adulation turned his head; perhaps it was due to boredom while waiting for new worlds to conquer, or a combination of both—we know not but the inference is clear that he fell into the habit of imbibing. According to the immortal Greek biographer, Plutarch, the death of Alexander the Great was precipitated by a drunken carousal.

There---

According to Plutarch—

he drank all the night and the next day, until at last he found a fever coming upon him.

Alexander the Great, the invincible conqueror, himself was conquered by alcohol at the early age of 33.

The Romans in the earlier years of their civilization were strictly sober but eventually undermined and sacrificed their great civilization through a period of three centuries of dissipation.

The Normans won the Battle of Hastings on September 28, 1066, during which, as told by the historian William of Malmesbury, "they passed the night in fasting and prayer," while "the Anglo-Saxon devoted the same period to drunkenness and debauch." In the battle that took place the next day, Harold and his drinking Saxons were routed, and William won the throne of England.

On Christmas Eve, 1776, the American troops crossed the Delaware and won the Battle of Trenton when they surprised the Hessian soldiers celebrating the season with drinking and feasting.

In the War of 1812, the U. S. S. Argus fell an easy prey to the British brig because the night before the battle the American sailors had been allowed to drink so much wine that few of their shots hit the British vessel.

Napoleon met his Waterloo when a tyrant as ruthless as himself crept into his army, for, as someone has aptly expressed it: Since the creation of the world there has been no tyrant like intemperance and no slaves so cruelly treated as his.

Everyone familiar with the story of the Battle of Waterloo knows that poor discipline was largely responsible for the defeat of Napoleon's armies. Authentic historical records now disclose that Marshal Ney retired to his headquarters on the eve of the fateful battle and—

Fell into a deep and prolonged sleep after imbibing his favorite Burgundy too freely, and when he awoke he found himself apparently unable to give orders or to reach any decision.

During World War No. 1, when the German forces were advancing on Paris, the spearhead of the advance suddenly broke. No one could tell why. It was later revealed by Prof. Hans Schmidt, a commanding officer on the west front, that—

The French had left a great supply of alcoholic drink as the surest means of retarding the German advance. Two whole divisions were found drunk ready to be cut down by the Allied troops; the wine-drenched Germans were simply mowed down by the enemy machine guns.

It is said that the Crown Prince, acknowledging receipt of Professor Schmidt's report, remarked:

If we had not found alcohol, we should have advanced further than the March offensive. You are right in laying your finger on this painful wound.

According to press dispatches from Vichy following the collapse of France in World War No. 2, certain French Government spokesmen named alcohol as the chief cause of the moral collapse of the French Army under the German attack. It was stated that drunkenness had been rampant in the Army during the 8 months of inactivity at the start of the war; that a single hospital in the Fourth Army Area had 814 cases of delirium tremens during a single month; and that the "disastrous era of intoxication" among young French soldiers had caused most of the cases of nervous break-down and shell shock when they had to face the German dive bombers and tanks.

Hitler's armed forces have been strictly disciplined in every respect, and particularly against the use of alcohol. The German people are great beer drinkers, to be sure; but immoderate use of beer or any other alcoholic beverage is "verboten" for men in the service. One

451354-21862

Dr. Matthaei, formerly staff physician in the German Army, went on record as saying:

We should not discuss moderation with a man. The thing has long since been settled by science. The use of narcotic poisons is simply indecent and criminal.

Some persons hold that there is a wide difference between alcohol and narcotics. But Dr. Haven Emmerson places alcohol and narcotics in the same category. He served as a colonel in the Mcdical Corps of the United States Army during the first World War. He was decorated by France and by the United States for his distinguished service. Dr. Emmerson's opinion of alcohol is, in part:

Alcohol is a depressant habit-forming narcotic drug. Alcohol is a protoplasmic poison. Alcohol is drunk to get the drug effect and whenever it is so taken in whatever amount it exerts to some degree its depressant and toxic effects.

As I have just said, Hitler's men have been rigidly trained to conserve every resource, every ounce of energy, every atom of brain power, and every scintilla of ingenuity for application to the unholy cause for which they are fighting. Of late, however, occasional lapses have been noted. In their desperation, in their fanatical determination to subdue the Russians, they have been resorting to the false and temporary stimuli of alcoholic beverages. Back in November, in order to make progress toward the capture of Moscow in the face of the terrific winter storms that assailed them, the German troops were found in many cases to have been doped with alcohol in the hope of gaining temporary courage, energy, and warmth to overcome the obstacles that lay before them. The results that followed must have been very disappointing to the Germans, for they sustained a disastrous series of defeats along a large part of the fighting lines.

On January 31, news reports came from London to the effect that the German troops on the Moscow front had resorted to suicide attacks such as they used when the tide turned against them at Leningrad, in desperate attempts to halt the Russian drive. According to the communique, German shock troops marched in close order to counterattack a village held by a Russian tank unit. The soldiers had been given intoxicants before the attack. The Russians described the Germans as marching up like automatons. The tank men held their fire until the Germans were at close range and then blasted them with every gun they had. Scores of Germans fell at the first volley and the German formation broke and fied.

The title of that news item was "Nazi Suicide Troops Given Rum Courage." The finale was another defeat for the drinking German troops. The moral is: Rum courage cannot win battles.

At this juncture I am forcefully reminded of the interchange between Robert Ingersoll, the prominent atheist of his time, and Dr. James Buckley, an eminent physician of that period. Ingersoll sent the good doctor a package, and with it this letter:

DEAR BUCKLEY: I send you some of the most wonderful whiskey that ever drove the skeleton from the feast or painted landscapes in the brain of man. It is the mingled soul of wheat and corn. In it you will find the sunshine and shadow that chased each other over billowy fields, the breath of June. the carol of the lark, the dew of the night, the wealth of summer and autumn, rich content, all golden with imprisoned light. Drink it and you will hear the voices of men and maidens sing in the harvest home, mingled with the laughter of children. Drink it and you will feel within your blood the starred dawns, the dreamy, tawny dusks of perfect days. For 40 years this liquid joy has been confined within staves of oak, longing to touch the lips of man.

The letter was signed, "Your friend, Robert G. Ingersoll."

Dr. Buckley acknowledged his friend's offering, as follows:

My DEAR BOB: I return to you some of the most wonderful whisky that ever brought a skeleton into the closet or painted scenes of lust and bloodshed in the brain of man. It is the ghost of wheat and corn, crazed by the loss of their natural bodies. In it you will find a transient sunshine chased by a shadow as cold as an Arctic midnight, in which the breath of June grows icy and the carol of the lark gives place to the foreboding cry of the raven. Drink it and "you will have woe, sorrow, babbling, and wounds without cause." Your eyes shall behold strange women and your heart shall utter perverse things. Drink it deep and you shall hear the voices of demons shrieking, women wailing, and then, all orphaned, children mourning the loss of a father who yet lives. Drink it deep and long serpents will hiss in your ears, coil themselves about your neck, and seize you with their fangs. "At last it biteth like a serpent and stingeth like an adder." For 40 years this liquid death has been confined within staves of oak, harmless there as pure water. I send it to you that you may put an enemy 451354-21862

in your mouth to steal your brains; and yet, I call myself your friend.

#### BUCKLEY.

Dr. Buckley's words came vividly to my mind as I read some days ago an Associated Press story emanating from one of our military camps in California. It carried the headline, "Soldier gets 10 years as drinking-bout slayer." It briefly stated that a master sergeant-I shall omit names-was sentenced to 10 years in prison by a court martial which convicted him of manslaughter in the shooting of another sergeant during a drinking bout on December 17. I know nothing of the events that led up to this tragic occurrence. I can only presume it to have been just one of those inexplicable incidents that can arise from a drinking bout-whether among soldiers or civilians. The chances are that those two soldiers had been good buddies, the best of friends. But now one is dead, and the other is in prison for the slaying of a fellow soldier, all because of the iniquitous effects of alcohol. I have no doubt that both were fine young men. But when the "long serpents" of "liquid death" are hissing in the ears, the voice of human compassion, of reason, and of conscience is stilled.

We had a very tragic example of this kind right here in the shadow of the Capitol the other day. Everybody who reads the papers knows about it. A 20year-old Bolling Field soldier shot and killed a cab driver at Eleventh and East Capitol Streets. The only explanation this poor youngster has been able to give is:

As much as I can tell you is, I never saw the man before in my life. I was drunk at the time and didn't know what I was doing. I never saw the man before. I never before killed a man in my life. That's all I have to say.

According to the police, the young soldier had been drinking and got a ride into town in an Army car. He had with him a gun which he had "borrowed" from the holster of another soldier. Near the Capitol he hailed a taxi, and rode around town for a short time; then the soldier pulled out the gun and began brandishing it. The cab driver halted the car and started to flee, only to be shot in the back and killed by the soldier boy for no reason at all. The youngster was drunk, and did not know what he was doing, or why. This is but another sad commentary on our lack of proper control over the liquor evil in and around our training camps. It is a shameful reflection on our Government. It points an accusing finger at Congress for not enacting proper control legislation.

And yet in the face of all the damaging evidence against alcohol the opponents of Senate bill 860 are advancing all sorts of specious arguments against controlling liquor traffic in our military establishments. In an effort to strengthen their feeble arguments, they sometimes point to great men of history as examples of heavy drinkers who achieved greatness. They claim that those men did their best work and reached their highest pinnacles of success while "under the influence." They mention such men as General Grant. Shakespeare, Daniel Webster, and Robert Ingersoll.

It is true that shortly after the close of the Mexican War, General Grant was kicked out of the Army because of his intemperance. In fact, he had a most difflcult time getting back in. Except for the pressing need for trained officers during the Civil War, he would have remained in disgrace and obscurity. He was in constant peril of being thrown out again because of his occasional lapses back into his solitary drinking habits. His men had to rally to his defense on more than one occasion and testify to his sobriety in order to save him from dismissal. The memoirs of his fellow officers in the Civil War show that General Grant did his drinking between times, while celebrating a victory, or when things were dull; never while mapping important plans of strategy.

He well knew that alcohol was the enemy of military efficiency, for when he joined the Sons of Temperance and took the pledge of sobriety a few days after his marriage to Julia Dent, he went on record as saying:

There is no safety from ruin by liquor except by abstaining from it altogether.

He was very careful to appoint officers to serve with him who were abstemious for instance, John Rawlins, who was appointed as an adjutant as soon as Grant received his commission as brigadier general. Rawlins is described by historians as "a teetotaler who was punctual, precise, and abstemious to the verge of fanaticism." This young officer was constantly at the general's elbow and wielded a great influence over 451354-21862 him. Gen. James H. Wilson said—and I quote:

It was Rawlins more than any other man who aroused Grant's sensibilities and gave his actions that prompt, aggressive, and unrelenting character which so distinguished them. In fact, it has been frequently and truthfully said that the two together constituted a military character of great simplicity, force, and singleness of purpose, which has passed into history under the name of Grant.

There is nothing in the factual records to indicate that General Grant ever approached any very important undertaking while under the influence of liquor. On the other hand, his strategies all were planned deliberately, soberly, and with the counsel of trusted fellow officers who were notably sober.

Now let us see about Shakespeare. It may be true, as some claim, that Shakespeare's death came as a result of a drunken debauch at the home of his affinity, on his way from London to his home in Stratford. But it must be remembered that the great Shakespeare had quit writing 3 years before his death. had entirely deserted his "brain children." There is nothing in the records to prove that he imbibed to any considerable degree during his productive years. He was a good businessman as well as a brilliant poet and dramatist. He did his work systematically and amassed a sizable Toward the end of his writing fortune career, when evidences of liquor showed up in his work, he grew careless andleft to lesser hands the lagging later scenes of Cymbeline, parts of Henry VII, and very much of Pericles.

The inferior quality of those productions, as compared with the literary glories of Hamlet, Lear, Macbeth, and so forth, serve conclusively to void the argument that Shakespeare did his best work while under the influence of alcohol.

As for Daniel Webster and his famous speech at Bunker Hill, it is true that he was so inebriated that he had to be helped off the train when he arrived to deliver his address. But all the evidence points to the fact that his address was prepared beforehand with painstaking care and in an atmosphere of absolute sobriety, so that the profound sentiments and beautiful language that went into the speech were the products of a strictly sober mind.

As for Robert Ingersoll and his eloquence and his liquor, it is true that he was an able orator and a confirmed drinker. But he was principally noted for his declarations of atheism. He gained some prominence in politics, but his distorted concepts of life ruined him. We may well assume that his addiction to drink went a long way to warp his mind and soul. Certainly no thinking man or woman could seriously regard Ingersoll as an exemplar of true greatness when it is realized that his drunken eloquence won for him only the undesirable distinction of being "a brilliant but dangerous iconoclast."

Let the wets reflect upon what some of our greatest Presidents had to say about liquor.

George Washington, the father of our country, only a few days before his induction into office as President of our Nation condemned drink as "the source of all evil and the ruin of half the working men in the country."

John Adams, the second President, classed the liquor traffic as "an arch corrupter of politics."

Thomas Jefferson, the third President, and author of the Declaration of Independence, was outspoken in his condemnation of liquor. Here is what he said:

The habit of using ardent spirits by men in public office has produced more injury to the public service and more trouble to me than any other circumstanee that has occurred in the internal concerns of the country during my administration.

In fact, a few months after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the First Continental Congress passed a resolution, which read as follows:

That it be recommended to the several legislatures of the United States immediately to pass laws the most effectual for putting an immediate stop to the pernicious practice of distilling grain, by which the most extensive evils are likely to be derived, if not quickly prevented.

Abraham Lincoln, in a speech on Washington's Birthday, in 1842, made a strong appeal for prohibition:

In it we shall find a stronger bondage broken, a viler slavery manumitted, a greater tyrant deposed; in it, more of want supplied, more of disease healed, more of sorrow assuaged. By it, no orphans starving, no widows weeping. By it, none wounded in feeling, none injured in interest. \* \* \*

If the relative grandeur of revolutions shall be estimated by the great amount of human misery they alleviate and the small amount they inflict, then, indeed, will this be the grandest the world shall ever have seen. \* \* \*

And when victory shall be complete when there shall be neither a slave nor a

451354-21862

drunkard on the earth—how proud the title of that land which may truly claim to be the birthplace of both these revolutions that shall have ended in that victory. How nobly distinguished that people who shall have planted and nurtured to maturity both the political and moral freedom of their species.

We could go on and on, quoting utterances of the world's greatest patriots in condemnation of the liquor evil. On and on, down through the corridors of time, ring the echoes of voices, long since silenced, in eloquent testimony to the fact that alcohol has been a most dangerous fifth columnist, a most vicious saboteur of human welfare, since time immemorial.

Now we are spending large sums of money to curb sabotage, espionage, and fifth-column activities in our present war effort. Yet there are some who would prevent passage of the proposed measure to rout from our training centers the master ally of all the saboteurs and spies and fifth columnists—John Barleycorn.

If there be any who doubt that alcohol and narcotics are playing a fifth-column role in the current war, let them ask our Allies who have been in the war longer than we have. Let them ask China. Opium is to the Chinese what liquor is to the American, you know. Chinese leaders tell us that the Japanese have used opium as a major weapon in this war. Dr. Victor Hoo Chi-Tsai, an eminent Chinese physiclan, is quoted as having said:

Japan has invaded China not only with men and guns but with narcotics. Manchuria, Japan's puppet state, has beccme a narcotic arsenal. Japanese consulates in China are distributing centers for opium.

He said that Japanese fifth columnists are dispensing opium freely among millions of Chinese peasants in conquered territories in order to keep them from helping their fellow countrymen in the awful conflict.

Hon. Harry J. Anslinger, United States Commissioner of Narcotics, in a recent report, disclosed that many attempts had been made by the Nipponese to poison the blood of the American people with dangerous drugs. He said that Japanese officials had three objectives in their drug traffic—to gain revenue, to corrupt western nations, and to weaken or enslave the peoples of lands invaded or marked for invasion by Japan.

He stated further that wherever the Japanese Army goes the drug traffic follows; that in every territory conquered by the Japanese a large part of the people become enslaved with drugs, because the Japanese are master technicians at poisoning with drugs. Just as the Japanese are master technicians at poisoning with drugs, so, too, are the liquor traffickers master technicians at poisoning with alcohol.

No, Mr. President, I cannot reconcile the views of the opponents of Senate bill 860 with any reasonable attitude looking to the welfare of our men in the armed forces. Even if we would or could ignore the physical and mental welfare of these young men, even if we would or could ignore the constant anxiety of the mothers and wives of these boys who are risking their lives for the salvation of our country, even if we would or could ignore all the moral principles involved, we still would be duty bound to see to it that the liquor traffic and its accompanying evils shall not sabotage the manpower of our armed forces.

"Make America strong" is the slogan we hear on every hand. All Americans are being urged to make every possible sacrifice in order to win this far-flung war. We are spending gigantic sums of money to make America strong. We are determined to give our fighting men the very best of everything to be used in

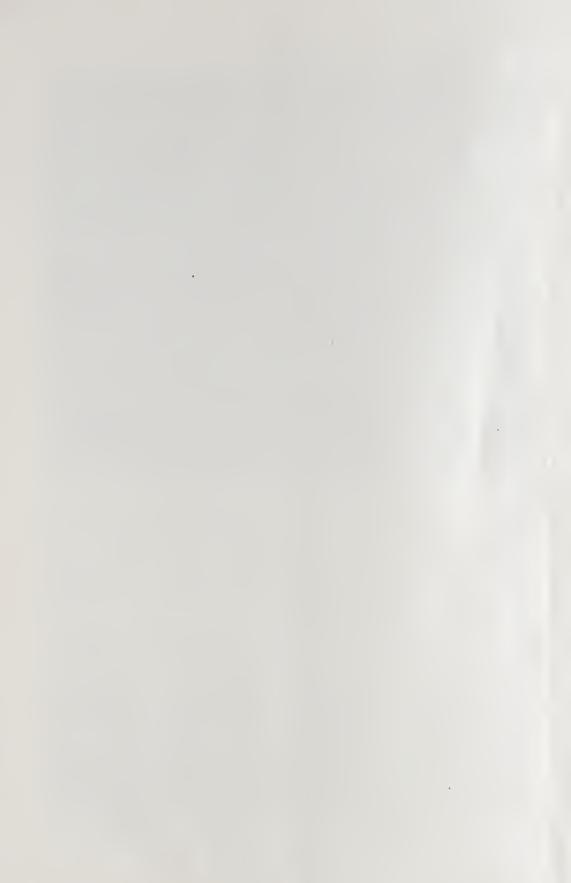
451354-21862

winning this war. We know that the efficient handling of this expensive armament depends upon the virility and alertness and precision and judgment of the men who operate the ships and planes and tanks and guns. Then we should be very short-sighted indced should we fail to take immediate and effective steps to safeguard our men and our equipment against the destructive forces of the liquor traffic and its accompanying evils. We just cannot afford to let John Barleycorn wage an alcoholic warfare to the advantage of the Axis murderers.

The perennial "wets" may talk and theorize as much as they please, but they know in their hearts that the whole story of civilization speaks this eternal truth with clarion voice: It is when Samson lies in the lap of Delilah, or reclines in the arms of the goddess of wine—it is then that the enemy sneaks in and ensnares and subdues him.

In the interest of effectual national defense and ultimate victory, in the interest of the physical and mental welfare of our defenders, for the sake of anxious mothers and wives, and in the hallowed memory of our late lamented colleague Senator Morris Sheppard, I do most earnestly implore the Senate to pass Senate bill 860 without further delay.

C



"2. The number of miscarriages. Studies have shown that in alcoholic families the mothers have more miscarriages than in temperate families. This has sometimes been erroneously interpreted as an indication of damage to the germ cells. The true explanation is to be found in the simple fact that, in general, the number of mis-carriages increases as the number of conceptions increases. WHY There are more conceptions and more children in the alcoholic families and therefore more miscarriages.

"3. The infant mortality. \*\*\*\* The mortality of the children in alcoholic families is much higher than in temperate families, in fact, nearly twice as high. This occurrence has been taken, but erroneously \*\*\* as the best possible evidence of germ damage by alcohol. \*\*\* In reality they had less chance to survive, not because of defects in the germ, but because of the environment into which they were born. Because of the irresponsible and irregular habits of their parents they were neglected. \*\*\*

"The fact that the high mortality among infants of chronic alcoholics is not due to the development of hereditary defects and inherent weaknesses is emphasized here for an important reason. If these unnecessary deaths are to be prevented, the facts must first be known. When the belief is held that the high mortality is due to germ damage, the prevention seems hopeless. Hereditary weaknesses cannot be remedied after the child is born. When, however, it is realized that the high mor-tality is not due to fundamental weakness of the child, but instead to home and social conditions, their remedy is no longer impossible.

"4. The occurrence of disease. \*\*\* Disease is not due to weakness acquired by the child from the alcohol used by the parents; it is due to lack of parental care, and neglect of the child after birth because of the excessive drinking habits of the parents.

"5. The occurrence of feeble-mindedness, epilepsy and mental disorders. The occurrence of mental disorders, feeble-mindedness, opriops, and monoul disorders. The frequent among the offspring of abnormal drinkers than among those of moderate drink-ers and abstainers. \*\*\* In many instances, but not all, there is a definite relation between heredity and the disorders dealt with here. \*\*\* Unlike infant mortality, home and social environment play little part in causing these disturbances. The explanation is to be found in the fact that alcohol does not make bad stock but that many alcoholics come from bad stock. The offspring inherit the defects of the parents. The defects predispose to alcoholism. \*\*\*\*

THE HEREDITY OF ABNORMAL DRINKERS "Is the craving for alcohol inherited? If we wished to take advantage of technicalities, our answer would correctly be 'No, it is not inherited.' \*\*\* Abnormal drinking and the craving for alcohol are acquired traits and acquired traits are not inherited. \*\*\*\* Are the hildren of alcoholics more apt to become alcoholics themselves than are the children of temperate parents? The answer is definitely, 'Yes.' There are three reasons why children of alcoholics tend to become alcoholics and none of these comes from any alteration of heredity caused by alcohol itself: \*\*\*

"1. The poor home environment of the alcoholic family, the neglect of the children and lack of parental. control are fertile grounds for the development of the habits of excess.

"2. The children find in their parents an example of excessive drinking and they tend to follow this example.

"3. Many excessive drinkers come from families in which mental disorders and abnormalities of personality are inherited traits. Individuals with such inherited traits are often much less able to resist intemperance to alcohol than are normal individuals and so become excessive and abnormal drinkers. \*\*\*

"Environment - home life and parental example - can be controlled; heredity, once the child is porn, cannot bealtered. \*\*\* Many investigators have shown that beyond question the great majority of alcoholics have mental disturbances and abnormalities of personality. These disturbances and abnormalities, although not due to al-cchol, nevertheless predispose to alcoholism. But the fact alone that such abnormalities exist does not prove that they were inherited or that they will be passed on to children which the alcoholic may have. The fact that the abnormalities exist in the alcoholic himself does not justify the statement, often made, with its implications of hopelessness, that these traits must pass to the children - that the children of alcoholics, by fate, must be alcoholics. \*\*\*\*

CONCLUSIONS

The use of alcohol does not injure the human germ and cause abnormalities "]. in heredity.

"2. Excessive users of alcohol frequently come from families of poor hered-

itary stock. "3. The defects they inherit are not caused by alcohol but they may predispose to alcoholism.

"4. The greater incidence of disease and mortality among children whose parents are abnormal drinkers, as compared to those whose parents are temperate, is not due to germ damage. It is due to the low standards of living and to neglect in the homes of excessive drinkers."

#### 4 6 94 8 .

# ALCOHOL, HEREDITY AND GERM DAMAGE

The question of germ damage is important because it concerns the stock of the human race. Inheritance of alcohol addiction is an important question because it concerns the development of alcoholism and therefore its control. The following statement on this topic is a condensed, verbatim copy of Lay Supplement No. 5, prepared and issued by the Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, organ of the Research Council on Problems of Alcohol in November, 1941:

"Does the use of alcohol by either or both parents bring about deficiencies and ill health in the children they have? If such deficiencies occur, do they result from occasional intoxication or only from alcohol addiction and chronic alcoholism? If deficiencies occur, will they be passed on to succeeding generations? If one marries into a family in which there are alcoholics, is it likely that the children will have the craving? Do alcoholics come from families of 'bad' heredity, that is, families in which mental disorders, feeble-mindedness and other defects are common?

"Where the answer is 'yes' it is important that it be said so emphatically, for the prevention of alcohol addiction and the maintenance of a good stock of the human race are more important than the peace of mind of any one individual. When it is 'no' it should also be stated definitely, for here false belief is harmful, since it can cause much unhappiness. \*\*\*

# GERM DAMAGE

"The male and female germ cells contain all the elements which make up the hereditary endowment of the child. Any damage to the germ may alter these elements and so affect heredity. \*\*\* Does alsohol injure the germ cells to just that slight extent which does not cause destruction but which does cause abnormality? The scientific facts indicate that the use of alcohol does not injure the germ cells and that it does not cause hereditary defects or weaknesses in children. \*\*\*

"The determination of heredity ends at conception. Drunkenness on the part of the father and drunkenness on the part of the mother do not result in the conception of children whose hereditary endowment is more or less abnormal than would be that of children from these two parents if they did not use alcohol. With that fact, heredity ends. \*\*\* Injuries which occur to the developing child after conception and injuries which occur to the child after birth do not belong to heredity. No one will deny that a mother who is frequently drunk, whose health is actually injured by excessive use of alcohol, is a poor mother to bear and raise a child. Equally, no one will deny that a father who is a chronic alcoholic is a poor father and makes a home unsuitable for a child. But these facts do not concern the heredity of the child the germs from which it was conceived - any more than do poverty, illness, neglect and brutality. They belong to what is called the environment - the surroundings of the child, and not to its heredity. \*\*\*

# ACUTE INTOXICATION AND GERM DAMAGE

"The belief that intoxication at the time of procreation might cause damage to the child is so ancient that we find it expressed in the myths of the Greeks. \*\*\* This old idea has been put to test by modern science. One step has been to find out whether or not any of the alcohol that was drunk reached the tissues of the reproductive organs. Experiments have shown that it does. \*\*\* These facts do not indicate that alcohol does or does not injure the germ cells, \*\*\* only that\*\*\* alcohol reachesthe germ cells. \*\*\* No acceptable evidence has ever been offered to show that acute alcoholic intoxication has any effect whatsoever on the human germ, or any influence in altering heredity, or is the cause of any abnormality in the child. All facts point to the conclusion that the germ cells are far too resistant to be injured by the concentrations of alcohol in the blood which occur in acute intoxication.

CHRONIC ALCOHOLISM AND GERM DAMAGE

"Acute intoxication causes no injury to the organs and tissues of the body or to the germ cells, but the daily excessive use of alcohol may, after many years, lead to chronic alcoholism. In chronic alcoholism the body is definitely injured. Is it possible that the germ cell, too, may be subject to injury in chronic alcoholism so that defects from this cause will appear in the child?\*\*\* We are dealing only with heredity - the germ cell - and not with the influence of the poor nutrition of an alcoholic mother on her unborn child or the influence of the alcoholic parents on the home life of the child. \*\*\*

"The studies made on human beings show results as conflicting as those made on animals. \*\*\* The conclusions reached in many of the older studies on these points cannot be accepted. \*\*\* Many of the observations can, however, be used and reinterpreted in the light of modern knowledge. \*\*\*

"1. <u>The number of children</u>. Proctically all investigations as to the number of children in alcoholic and temperate families have the same result: The number of children in the alcoholic families is greater. \*\*\* Human beings usually exercise some cliscretion in the number of children; the larger number in the families of alcoholics reflects only neglect of responsibilities.

JAIL COM-MITMENTS

CORONER'S

REPORT

AND

Of the 18,556 commitments to the District jail in 1941, 11,827, or 63.7%, were for intoxication. Of the 16,863 males committed, 10,923, or 64.8%, were charged with intoxication, while of the 1,693 females committed, 904, or 53.4%, were charged with drunkenness.

During 1941 there were 14,774 traffic accidents causing 83 deaths and TRAFFIC 4,375 injuries. Of the 14,108 drivers involved, 400 were under the FATALITIES influence of liquor, and caused 2 of the deaths and 398 of the injuries. Of the 2,256 pedestrians involved in accidents, 83 were under ACCIDENTS the influence of liquor. None of the 83 was killed, police report.

> Dr. A. Magruder McDonald, Coroner of the District, reports 82 autopsies on traffic fatalities during the calendar year 1941, of which 37 were tested for the presence of alcohol. 15 (40.5%) cases were positive for alcohol - 12 pedestrians, 2 passengers, and 1 driver. The blood of 8 pedestrians contained over 15/100 of 1% of alcohol, while

the rest showed lesser amounts. During the first 6 months of 1942, 49 autopsies were performed on traffic fatalities, 19 being tested for alcohol. 7 cases (36.8%) were positive for alcohol, 3 pedestrians, 3 passengers, and 1 driver. Tests showed the blood of 1 pedestrian and 1 passenger contained over 15/100 of 1% of alcohol, the rest lesser amounts.

LICENSES IN	Licenses in effect as of June 30, 1941, were as follows:	
EFFECT IN WASHINGTON	Manufacturer's Class B (Brewery) Wholesaler's Class A (All alcoholic beverages) Wholesaler's Class B (Beer and light wines)	1 18 14
	Retailer's Class A (OFF sale, all alcoholic bev.) Retailer's Class B (OFF sale, beer and light wines) Retailer's Class C (ON sale, all alcoholic bev.) Retailer's Class D (ON sale, beer and light wines)	399 679 360 360
-	Retailer's Class E (Drug store) Sub-total Solicitor's Retailer's Class F (Temporary, picnics, etc.) Total, all classes	$     \begin{array}{r} 1 \\     \hline       1,832 \\       241 \\       43 \\       2,116     \end{array} $

Taxes on alcoholic beverages received during the year 1941 amounted TAXES AND to \$1,585,546.87; license fees, \$702,955.56; a total of \$2,288,502.43. LICENSE FEES

The Census Bureau gives the following data on the deaths from alcohol-DEATHS FROM ism in the District of Columbia from 1910 to 1940, and the rate per ALCOHOLISM 100,000 population:

	No. deaths	Rate per 100,000		No. deaths	Rate per 100,000		No. deaths	Rate per 100,000
1910	22	6.6	1920	5	1.1	1930	21	4.3
1911	34	9.9	1921	6	1.3	1y31	17	3.4
1912	17	4.8	1922	6	1.3	1932	15	2.9
1913	33	9.0	1923	18	4.0	1933	25	4.7
1914	20	5.3	1924	23	5.0	1934	21+	4.2
1915	23	5.9	1925	23	5.0	1935	26	4.3
1916	31	7.8	1,426	14	3.0	1936	37	5.9
1917	19	4.6	1927	14	3.0	1937	33	5.4
1918		0.9	1928	10	2.1	1938	21	3.3
1919	7	1.6	1929	14	2.9	1939	29	4.4
1)1)	I			•		1940	26	3.9

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA RESEARCH SERVICE

19.28

	THE ANTI-ORLOOM DEROOF OF AMERICA RESERVON SERV	102							
Laura Lindley, 131 B St. S.E.	Research Secretary Washington, D.C.	L-42-13 7-8-42							
131 B St. S.E., Washington, D.C.7-8-42LIQUOR IN WASHINGTON, CAPITAL OF THE NATION, CAPITAL OF THE VORLD For the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1941									
<ul> <li>WASHINGTON'S TWENTY PER CENT CLUB</li> <li>D.C about \$1.00 per day. Washington residents spent, in 1941, <u>Twenty Per Cent</u> <u>as much for alcoholic beverages</u>, daily, per capita, as is now being spent daily, per capita, by the nation to win the victory over the Axis foe.</li> </ul>									
55 MILLIONS SPENT FOR LRINK VS. 43 MILLIONS SFENT FOR DISTRICT GOVERNMENT	<ul> <li>Columbia for the fiscal year 1941 is \$55,000,000.</li> <li>Columbia for the fiscal year 1941 is \$55,000,000.</li> <li>The Commissioners of the District report that appropriation expend- itures for the fiscal year 1941 amounted to \$43,597,891.95, or</li> <li>MILLIONS TWELVE MILLION DOLLARS LESS for general government, protection of life and property, health and sanitation, highways, public welfare, education, recreation, and miscellaneous items, than for liquor.</li> </ul>								
	Protection of life and property Health and sanitation Highways Public welfare Education Recreation Miscellaneous Total	4,293,202.85 9,070,484.77 3,565,493.84 757,462.82 10,317,560.44 13,626,991.60 1,575,186.15 391,509.48 43,597,891.95 55,000,000.00							
PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES IN THE D.C.	S. irits, per cap.       4.367 gal.       1.         Wine, per cap.       .77       .         Beer, per cap.       16.55       13.	n 1941 - 4.367 gal Deverages consumed. A Pollows: <u>s a whole</u> 07 gal. 678							
DRUNKEN- NESS IN THE D.C.	The police report 21,600 arrests for drunkenne demeanors directly due to liquor were: Violat 407; drinking in public places, 354; driving m drunk, 422; driving horse-drawn vehicle while or 40.4% of the 56,324 misdemeanors committed	tions of the A.B.C. Act, notor vehicle while drunk, 1; total, 22,784,							
WOMEN DRUNKS	There were 1,729 arrests of women for drunkenr This is the largest number of women ever arrest the District, but the percentage is slightly 1 when 8.1% of the drunkenness arrests were of w (OVER)	sted for drunkenness in lower than in 1938,							

Address by Dr. George Earton Cutten Before Northern Baptist Convention

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

# HON. ARTHUR CAPPER

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, July 6 (legislative day of Thursday, July 2), 1942

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Dr. George Barton Cutten, president of Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y., at the Northern Baptist Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, and printed in Progress magazine published by the International Reform Federation of Washington, Clinton N. Howard, editor.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### WE ARE AT WAR

#### (By George Barton Cutten)

We are at war. Aicohol and war do not mix any better than alcohol and gasoline. Perhaps a mere voter and a modest taxpayer should not be expected to bother his hcad abcut the conduct of the war, but the fundamental strategy seems to be for us to drink our way to victory. Is this to be any more successful than the strategy the Washington officials outlined for us in 1932 when we were supposed to drink our way to sobriety?

According to press dispatches, during the 77 days of prohibition in Honolulu after the Jap attack there were 268 arrests, an average When prohibition was disconof 3.3 daily. tinued by military order, the first day there were 17 men and 5 women convicted of drunkenness, and during the next 30 days the average number of arrests was over 21-more than 6 times the average during the 77 days of prohibition. Barrooms, taverns, beer halls, and cocktail lounges are not fitting schools for soldiers who have a world war on their hands, and Army officials who think other-wise should reassign the thinking to compe-tent heads. Van Loon told us that Singapore "maintains a set of barrooms the splendor of which is famous all over the Orient." How much this had to do with the collapse of the Gibraltar of the East has not yet been evaluated.

The American Bnusiness Men's Research Foundation not long ago issued a statement in which were these words: "Beverage alcohol has played an amazing part in undermining and ultimately bringing about the defeat of practically every nation that has lost the crucial decision on the field of battle or in conflict with other people. Liquor has defeated more men, more armies, more nations than any other cause." In 1925 the famous French editor, Payot, wrote: "Alcoholism, under the indifferent eye of the authorities, is indeed destroying the nation." As recently as the French debacle the verdict of the government was, "Alcohol was the chief cause of the French Armies' collapse, and the worst of France's four greatest problems." General Pétain, with tears in his voice if not in his eyes, said, "Our soldiers were drunk and could not fight. Since the victory of the World War the spirit of pleasure, of riotous living, and drinking has prevailed over the spirit of sac-rifice." France was at that time consuming on an average of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  quarts of alcoholic beverage a week per person, the largest amount of any nation in the world. That is the way France drank her way to victory. All the

472592-22425

great nations now at war, with the single exception of our own, have made somewhat drastic regulations for the curtailment of the use of beverage alcohol.

The day after the election in 1932, the Brewery News said, "Not one-tenth of 1 percent of the youth of America know the taste of real beer—we must educate them." The Brewer's Digest for May 1941, enthused in the following words:

"One of the finest things that could have happened to the Brewery industry was the insistence by high ranking officers to make beer available at Army camps.

"The opportunity presented to the brewing industry by this measure is so obvious that it is superfluous to go into detail.

"Here is the chance for brewers to cultivate a taste for beer in millions of young men who will eventually constitute the largest beerconsuming section of our population."

And they were right. Nothing seems to be plainer than that we are all-out for the brewers and distillers. Every large industry in this country has been curtailed except the liquor industry. Cameras, radio sets, and fire-arms in the possession of aliens, about which we have been making such a fuss, might do some harm to our war effort, but how insignificant compared with the liquor interest which is not only not hindered but actually encouraged. Housewives are being rationed in sugar, but alcohol is still being made from sugar or molasses. The beer and whisky trucks have tire priorities, the milk delivery trucks have not. Babies in the home can be deprived of milk and sugar, but the distillers blithely on their way, the favored children of Washington. Nothing shows more clearly liquor's favored position than its exemption from the provisions of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

On December 31, 1941, there were over 511,-000,000 gallons of whisky stocked in warehouses in this country, a 5 years' supply. This could readily be redistilled to produce alcohol for the manufacture of munitions, but so far not one gallon has been touched for this purpose. We are sacrificing our energy and resources to build ships, for this is now our greatest need. Why ships? Well, for one thing, to send grain to Great Britain to be returned to us as Scotch whisky. Are we insane?

Isn't it about time we became serious about this war? Do we want to win it, or do we want to forget about it in a national drunken debauch? Three things have been designated time and again as absolutely essential to winning the war. What are they? First, the health of the people; second, the wealth of the people, and third, the morale of the people. Let us look at them.

Health: One medical authority in this country lists our five most serious health problems as: alcohol, tuberculosis, venercai disease, cancer, and heart trouble—and he places alcohol first. Isn't that somewhat extreme? Not at all. One of our large insurance companies reports that during the last decade rejections for heavy alcoholic indulgence have increased from 12 percent to 34 percent. One-third of insurable men and women who are condemned as unsafe risks for insurance, are rejected because of drink. From 1932 to 1936, the first 4 years of repeal, rejections by one company on account of drinking increased 35 percent. Insurance companies are hard-boiled business institutions, and can't afford to make mistakes.

But this is not all; alcohol is not only a serious problem in its own right, but two of the other problems are aggravated by it. For years we have known that tuberculosis is made more dangerous by the use of alcohol, and some physicians say that as many as 90 percent of venereal infections are contracted when under the influence of alcohol. The New York State Liquor Authority has said, "The more alcohol, the more syphilis."

Alcohol is a serious contributing factor to two other major health problems, insanity Psychiatrists are much conand accidents. cerned about the increasing burden which Insanity is placing upon the personnel and finances of this country. More beds are oc-cupied for insane patients than for all others combined, Dr. Dayton, working for the Rockefeller Foundation, reported that 20 percent of the mental patients of the United States are alcoholics. In some cities and some States the percentage is much higher. Forty percent of the admissions to Beilevuc are alcoholics; 32 percent of the male admissions in Massachusetts are connected with aicohoiism, and the percentage of such female cases is rapidly increasing. In California, 33 percent of admissions to their mental institutions are alcoholic seven cases. Mental diseases, due to alcoholism, are steadily increasing to the highest peak in the history of this country.

One need scarcely mention the matter of alcohol and accidents, especially automobile accidents. The matter has become so serious that even the distillers and brewers, afraid it may interfere with their business, are advertising and advising against driving Forty thousand persons are after drinking. killed and a million and one-half injured every year in the United States by automobile accidents, and the percentage caused by drinking is estimated anywhere from 40 percent of these down. We do know that the number of deaths and accidents var es from year to year with the amount of alcoholic beverages consumed. In this situation it is not a matter of a single individual being drunk and unfit for duty; this is a mechanized war, and men must handle airplanes. ships, tanks, trucks, and jeeps. It is not only the life of one man that is in jeopa dy but the lives of hundreds of others depend upon his clear head and unclouded judgment.

No other poison causes so many deaths as ethyl alcohol. It is more deadly than morphine, cocaine, or heroin, or all combined. Alcohol causes more deaths than any one of the 31 infectious diseases, some of which in the past have assumed the proportions of plagues. How inhuman and barbarous we should consider the Japs if they distributed typhoid or tuberculosis germs among our armies, yet we license men to distribute alcoholic beverages to our soldiers and even to distribute them in their camps.

Resistance to any disease is dependent upon good nutrition, and no sane physician would train a man on alcohol. Since the repeal of the eighteenth amendment, beer for the parents has been substituted for milk for the children. The first ycar. of repeal milk consumption in the United States dropped 37,000,000 quarts, the second year 59,000,000 quarts, and the third year 69,000,000.

The case against alcohol medically and socially is just as strong and just as clear as the case against oplum. The discontinuance of alcohol as a beverage would be the greatest advance in public health since the application of the bacteriological origin of disease. The insidiousness of its attack makes alcohol the more dangerous, and when 30 percent of the drinkers become addicts we cannot afford to trifle with it. Nature unrelentingly presents her bill.

relentingly presents her bill. If the Nation is to specialize in public health, and we really mean it, the first step is clearly indicated. If our soldiers are to be physically fit that step becomes not only advisable but imperative, for all through historical time alcohoi and venereal disease have been the twin dctriments to fitness in the armies of the world. You can repeal the eighteenth amendment, but you cannot repeal the effect that alcohol and venereal disease have upon the human body. Further, nature impolitely disregards the authority of Congress when the latter declares that 3.2 beer is not intoxicating.

Money: Macauley said at one time: "Even the law of gravitation would be brought into dispute were there a pecuniary Interest Involved." Nothing shows the truth of this statement more clearly than the liquor traffic. This traffic is concerned with money on one slde and on the other with the health and lives of men, their morals and their social standing, the food and clothing of their children, the happiness of their family life, their intellectual integrity, and their contribution to their country in time of peril. When stated thus baldly it hardly seems possible that one man could be found who would gamble with the human lives and interests of his fellows to that extent, but there are such, and not all among the lowest classes either.

classes either. The story of the repeal of the eighteenth amendment in this country is about as sordid a tale as besmirches the pages of the history of any country at any time. By it, faith in one's fellow men is rudely shattered, and our reliance in men of big business has re-ceived a severe shock. Fortunately only a portion of them were involved. It seems that about 250 of this country's prominent capitalists opposed the enforcement of Federal laws and openly rejoiced in the success of crime and lawlessness, coerced if they did not bribe legislators, distributed an unlimited amount of propaganda which proved to be false, made promises which they knew they were unable to fulfill, in order to bring back a liquor business the taxes on which they thought would relieve them of their income taxes. One of them testified in a congressional hearing that "a tax on beer would save one of my companies \$10,000,000 a year." By comparison with this, Judas Iscariot, who sold his Lord for 30 pieces of silver, was a mere unsophisticated novice and Brnedict Arnold was a loyal patriot.

Of course, this dream was never realized. The promises they made to each other were as wild and as undependable as the promises they made to the public. Liquor profits, except to the manufacturers and dealers, are always wraithlike phantoms. The tax income promised for beer alone was \$1,000,000,-000. It has never reached that for all alcoholic beverages, but let us take that figure for a round number—this the total on the income side. What about the debit side which is not so loudly advertised?

The American people pay to the l.quor dealers over \$4,000,000,000 a year for legal alcoholic beverages. Some authorities estimate that nearly as much is paid for illegal liquor. Let us be conservative and place the total at \$5,000,000,000. The liquor dealers collect revenues from their customers and leave society to care for the results. Dr. H. M. Pollock, mental-hygiene statistician for New York State Department of Health, estimates that the economic loss to the Nation of those who have indulged in alcohol sufficiently to be arrested for intoxication is over \$5,000,000,000 annually. In addition to this one group and this one item, are the economic loss of the larger group who drink and are not arrested, the extra cost for the police, the jails, the prisons, the courts, the insane asylums, the hospitals, the accidents, the alcohol-induced diseasc, the alcohol-induced crimes, further reckoned at an additional \$5,000,000,000 annually. These three items, all conservatively estimated, total \$15,000,000,000 a year of the Nation's wealth. This estimate is nearly half the cost of the last war to us, and is about a quarter as much as we are spending yearly for this war.

There are three other items worthy of notice. Bootlegging, which repeal was to

472592-22425

have killed, is still very much alive. Not long ago one authority said that there were 100 illegal distillers to every legal one. The Government has licensed about a half million places to sell liquor and there are tens of thousands unlicensed. The Federal expense for trying to curb bootlegging is far in excess of what it was during prohibition. Nevada, with one legal liquor dispensary for every 94 persons, is our most drunken State, consuming over 23.5 gallons of alcoholic beverages per person per year.

per person per year. When sugar is being rationed and grain is wanted by a starving world, it is noteworthy to observe that in 1940, 2,000,000 tons of grain were used for alcoholic beverages, and over 4,000,000 gallons of molasses.

The third item, which has almost if not quite taken on the form of a scandal is the liquor advertising offered to every magazine and newspaper which will accept it. For this the distillers and brewers spend at least \$25,-000,000 yearly, considered generally as a polite form of bribe to stifle any opposition which an editorial policy might dictate. There are still prominent magazines and newspapers which have not been for sale.

The liquor traffic is one of our most serious financial problems. The amount spent directly for liquor yearly, \$5,000,000,000, is about twice as much as we spend for education of all kinds for all the people in the United States, including Alaska. If there had to be a choice made between national sobriety and national revenue every patriot would choose the former, but happily they are both pulling in the same direction.

But what has this to do with the war? Very much, according to the Washington authorities. Every newspaper, every radio announcement, every poster and handbill, every civilian-defense speaker emphasizes the need for money to win the war. We are even taking the pennies from the children in the kindergarten to buy stamps, but at the same time we are permitting a waste of \$15,000,-000,000 a year, which contributes only to inefficiency and degeneration and destruction.

Morale. President Roosevelt, in his message of May 27, 1941, used these words: "Defense today means more than fighting. It means morale, civilian as well as military." Is "Dutch courage" our ideal of morale for an American? Is a drunken man our pattern for Army or civilian morale? Do we wish to repeat France's mistake, when Petain's only excuse for the collapse in French morale was that the soldiers were drunk? Hitler's youth are forbidden to drink; Japan, some time ago, decreased the manufacture of alcoholic beverages 50 percent; Russia also greatly decreased the manufacture and distribution of alcoholic beverages. On the other hand, Germany is making alcohol available to the captive nations it wishes to destroy, Japan is distributing opium among the Chinese. When we provide unlimited alcoholic beverages for our soldiers as well as for our civilians, and when drunken soldiers and drunken civilians are both common spectacles, doesn't it seem as though we had our wires crossed?

There are those who say, "A man should know when he's had enough." In reply there are two things to be said: in the first place, some people when they've had enough do not know anything; in the second place, when a man has had a drink he is not a good judge of when he's had enough, and the more drinks he has, the poorer is his judgment. There is one thing upon which we'll agree; the morale which comes out of a bottle is not the morale to put into a battle. No officer ever gave a wrong command because he remained sober.

Isn't the drinking of liquor a personal matter and shouldn't one decide for himself whether or not be shall drink? Ho! Ho! Isn't the buying of gasoline a personal matter and shouldn't one decide for himself how much he shall get? Isn't it a personal matter whether or not one shall have sugar in his tea or coffec? Isn't it a personal matter whether or not he shall light his home when he wants to? There are no personal matters these days, but drinking has never been one. A matter which is responsible for crime, poverty, insanity, accidents to others, shattered homes, hungry children, disrupted morals, and countless other kinds of social degeneration, can never be a mere personal matter, and sane people can hardly make such a claim.

If to counterbalance its disastrous effects, alcohol could add one jot or tittle of courage, ability, skill, or manhood, we might be willing to sacrifice in order to increase morale, but unfortunately all the results are on one side of the ledger, and the effect on morale is destructive and annihilating. A sober nation with the morale born of clear thinking, determination, and courage can eventually defeat Hitler and the Japs, but a drunken nation will travel through the slough of despond to inevitable danger of defeat. Hitler or Yamashita is not our greatest menace; if we can defeat the enemy within our gates, we can look after either or both of them.

If we were not at war, the church of Jesus Christ would not remain complacent when the hc lth, the wealth, the morale, the morals, and the religious life of people are in jeopardy. At the mercy of every bottle of liquor are human values of which the church is supposed to be the guardian. Are we no longer interested in these? Have we abdicated as the heralds of salvation and joined the forces of destruction? For just what do you as a member of a Baptist church stand, anyway?

But we are at war! We are facing not only a moral emergency but a national one as well. Let us act grown up and reasonable and insist that the Nation shail do the same. The District of Columbia drinks four times as much spirits per person as the Nation as a whole and more than any other State or Territory.

Sometimes I have suspected that. Is it not about time that we let our Congressmen know that if that is what Congress stands for, that is not what the Nation as a whole stands for, and not what the members of the Baptist churches stand for. Let us insist that the military camps be cleaned up and the authority of the Army and Navy be used to clean up adjacent territory; let us insist that we go all out for this war and that the liquor interests be no longer the pet of our National Government. Let us insist that our Representatives represent us and not the liquor interests, and that Government control of liquor means the control of the liquor interests by Congress and not the control of " Congress by the liquor interests.

Baptists have always been patriotic and loyal—we still are. We say to the President and Congress that we will give our money, we will give our time, we will give our thought, we will make every sacrifice; we will give our sons and we will give ourselves in order that this war may be fought to a successful conclusion. But we insist that when our sons go into camp, these camps be no longer reeruiting centers for beer interests and liquor dealers, but that they be elean and wholesome, in order that our boys may give their best to their country; and, if in the providence of God they are called to fill a hero's grave, that they may go down to that end with a clean breath and a clear head as befits the men fighting in a righteous cause for a self-respecting Nation. Address by Dr. George Barton Cutten Before Northern Baptist Convention

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. ARTHUR CAPPER

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

### Monday, July 6 (legislative day of Thursday, July 2), 1942

Mr. CAPPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address delivered by Dr. George Barton Cutten, president of Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y., at the Northern Baptist Convention at Cleveland, Ohio, and printed in Progress magazine published by the International Reform Federation of Washington, Clinton N. Howard, editor.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### WE ARE AT WAR

### (By George Barton Cutten)

We are at war. Alcohol and war do not mix any better than alcohol and gasoline. Perhaps a mere voter and a modest taxpayer should not be expected to bother his head about the conduct of the war, but the fundamental strategy seems to be for us to drink our way to victory. Is this to be any more successful than the strategy the Washington officials outlined for us in 1932 when we were supposed to drink our way to sobriety?

According to press dispatches, during the 77 days of prohibition in Honolulu after the Jap attack there were 268 arrests, an average of 3.3 daily. When prohibition was discon-tinued by military order, the first day there were 17 men and 5 women convicted of drunkenness, and during the next 30 days the average number of arrests was over 21-more than 6 times the average during the 77 days of prohibition. Barrooms, taverns, beer halls, and cocktail lounges are not fitting schools for soldiers who have a world war on their hands, and Army officials who think otherwise should reassign the thinking to competent heads. Van Loon told us that Singapore "maintains a set of barrooms the splendor of which is famous all over the Orient." How much this had to do with the collapse of the Gibraltar of the East has not yet been evaluated.

The American Bnusiness Men's Research Foundation not long ago issued a statement in which were these words: "Beverage alcohol has played an amazing part in undermining and ultimately bringing about the defeat of practically every nation that has lost the crucial decision on the field of battle or in conflict with other people. Liquor has defeated more men, more armies, more nations than any other cause." In 1925 the famous French editor, Payot, wrote: "Alcoholism, under the indifferent eye of the authorities, is indeed destroying the nation." As recently as the French debacle the verdict of the gov-ernment was, "Alcohol was the chief cause of the French Armies' collapse, and the worst of General France's four greatest problems." Pétain, with tears in his voice if not in his eyes, said, "Our soldiers were drunk and could not fight. Since the victory of the World War the spirit of pleasure, of riotous living, and drinking has prevailed over the spirit of sac-France was at that time consuming rifice." on an average of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  quarts of alcoholic beverage a week per person, the largest amount of any nation in the world. That is the way France drank her way to victory. All the

# CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

great nations now at war, with the single exception of our own, have made somewhat drastic regulations for the curtailment of the use of beverage alcohol.

The day after the election in 1932, the Brewery News said, "Not one-tenth of 1 percent of the youth of America know the taste of real beer—we must educate them." The Brewer's Digest for May 1941, enthused in the following words:

"One of the finest things that could have happened to the Brewery industry was the insistence by high ranking officers to make beer available at Army camps.

"The opportunity presented to the brewing industry by this measure is so obvious that it is superfluous to go into detail.

"Here is the chance for brewers to cultivate a taste for beer in millions of young men who will eventually constitute the largest beerconsuming section of our population."

And they were right. Nothing seems to be plainer than that we are all-out for the brewers and distillers. Every large industry in this country has been curtailed except the liquor industry. Cameras, radio sets, and firearms in the possession of aliens, about which we have been making such a fuss, might do some harm to our war effort, but how insig-nificant compared with the liquor interest which is not only not hindered but actually encouraged. Housewives are being rationed in sugar, but alcohol is still being made from sugar or molasses. The beer and whisky trucks have tire priorities, the milk delivery trucks have not. Babies in the home can be deprived of milk and sugar, but the distillers go blithely on their way, the favored children of Washington. Nothing shows more clearly liquor's favored position than its exemption from the provisions of the Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act.

On December 31, 1941, there were over 511,-000,000 gallons of whisky stocked in warehouses in this country, a 5 years' supply. This could readily be redistilled to produce alcohol for the manufacture of munitions, but so far not one gallon has been touched for this purpose. We are sacrificing our energy and resources to build ships, for this is now our greatest need. Why ships? Well, for one thing, to send grain to Great Britain to be returned to us as Scotch whisky. Are we insane?

Isn't it about time we became serious about this war? Do we want to win it, or do we want to forget about it in a national drunken debauch? Three things have been designated time and again as absolutely essential to winning the war. What are they? First, the health of the people; second, the wealth of the people, and third, the morale of the people. Let us look at them.

Health: One medical authority in this country lists our five most serious health problems as: alcohol, tuberculosis, venereal disease, cancer, and heart trouble—and he places alcohol first. Isn't that somewhat extreme? Not at all. One of our large insurance companies reports that during the last decade rejections for heavy alcoholic indulgence have increased from 12 percent to 34 percent. One-third of insurable men and women who are condemned as unsafe risks for insurance, are rejected because of drink. From 1932 to 1936, the first 4 years of repeal, rejections by one company on account of drinking increased 35 percent. Insurance companies are hard-boiled business institutions, and can't afford to make mistakes.

But this is not all; alcohol is not only a serious problem in its own right, but two of the other problems are aggravated by it. For years we have known that tuberculosis is made more dangerous by the use of alcohol, and some physicians say that as many as 90 percent of venereal infections are contracted when under the influence of alcohol. The

New York State Liquor Authority has said, "The more alcohol, the more syphilis."

Alcohol is a serious contributing factor to two other major health problems, insanity and accidents. Psychiatrists are much concerned about the increasing burden which insanity is placing upon the personnel and finances of this country. More beds are oc-cupied for insane patients than for all others combined, Dr. Dayton, working for the Rockefeller Foundation, reported that 20 percent of the mental patients of the United States are alcoholics. In some cities and some States the percentage is much higher. Forty percent of the admissions to Bellevue alcoholics; 32 percent of the male adare missions in Massachusetts are connected with alcoholism, and the percentage of such fe-male cases is rapidly increasing. In Cali-fornia, 33 percent of admissions to their seven mental institutions are alcoholic cases. Mental diseases, due to alcoholism, are steadily increasing to the highest peak in the

history of this country. One need scarcely mention the matter of alcohol and accidents, especially automobile accidents. The matter has become so serious that even the distillers and brewers, afraid it may interfere with their business, are advertising and advising against driving after drinking. Forty thousand persons are killed and a million and one-half injured every year in the United States by automobile accidents, and the percentage caused by drinking is estimated anywhere from 40 per-cent of these down. We do know that the number of deaths and accidents varies from year to year with the amount of alcoholic beverages consumed. In this situation it is not a matter of a single individual being drunk and unfit for duty; this is a mecha-nized war, and men must handle airplanes, ships, tanks, trucks, and jeeps. It is not only the life of one man that is in jeopardy but the lives of hundreds of others depend upon his clear head and unclouded judgment.

No other poison causes so many deaths as ethyl alcohol. It is more deadly than morphine, cocaine, or heroin, or all combined. Alcohol causes more deaths than any one of the 31 infectious diseases, some of which in the past have assumed the proportions of plagues. How inhuman and barbarous we should consider the Japs if they distributed typhoid or tuberculosis germs among our armies, yet we license men to distribute alcoholic beverages to our soldiers and even to distribute them in their camps.

Resistance to any disease is dependent upon good nutrition, and no sane physician would train a man on alcohol. Since the repeal of the eighteenth amendment, beer for the parents has been substituted for milk for the children. The first year of repeal milk consumption in the United States dropped 37,000,000 quarts, the second year 59,000,000 quarts, and the third year 69,000,000.

The case against alcohol medically and socially is just as strong and just as clear as the case against opium. The discontinuance of alcohol as a beverage would be the greatest advance in public health since the application of the bacteriological origin of disease. The insidiousness of its attack makes alcohol the more dangerous, and when 30 percent of the drinkers become addicts we cannot afford to trifie with it. Nature unrelentingly presents her bill.

relentingly presents her bill. If the Nation is to specialize in public health, and we really mean it, the first step is clearly indicated. If our soldiers are to be physically fit that step becomes not only advisable but imperative, for all through historical time alcohol and venereal disease have been the twin detriments to fitness in the armies of the world. You can repeal the eighteenth amendment, but you cannot repeal the effect that alcohol and venereal disease have upon the human body. Further, nature impolitely disregards the authority of Congress when the latter declares that 3.2 beer is not intoxicating.

Money: Macauley said at one time: "Even the law of gravitation would be brought into dispute were there a pecuniary interest in-volved." Nothing shows the truth of this volved." Nothing shows the truth of this statement more clearly than the liquor traf-This traffic is concerned with money on fic. one side and on the other with the health and lives of men, their morals and their social standing, the food and clothing of their children, the happiness of their family life, their intellectual integrity, and their con-tribution to their country in time of peril. when stated thus baldly it hardly seems possible that one man could be found who would gambie with the human lives and Interests of his fellows to that extent, but there are such, and not all among the lowest classes either.

The story of the repeal of the eighteenth amendment in this country is about as sordid a tale as besmirches the pages of the history of any country at any time. By it, falth in one's fellow men is rudely shattered, and our rellance in men of big business has received a severe shock. Fortunately only a portion of them were involved. It seems that about 250 of this country's prominent capitalists opposed the enforcement of Federal laws and openly rejolced in the success of crime and lawlessness, coerced if they did not bribe legislators, distributed an unlimited amount of propaganda which proved to be false, made promises which they knew they were unable to fulfili, in order to bring back a liquor business the taxes on which they thought would relieve them of their income taxes. One of them testified in a congressional hearing that "a tax on beer would save one of my companies \$10,000,000 a year." By comparison with this, Judas Iscariot, who sold his Lord for 30 pieces of silver, was a mere unsophisticated novice and Bonedict Arnold was a loyal patriot.

Of course, this dream was never realized. The promises they made to each other were as wild and as undependable as the promises they made to the public. Liquor profits, except to the manufacturers and dealers, are always wraithlike phantoms. The tax income promised for beer alone was \$1,000,000,-000. It has never reached that for all alcoholic beverages, but let us take that figure for a round number—this the total on the income side. What about the debit slde which is not so loudly advertised?

The American people pay to the liquor dealers over \$4,000,000,000 a year for legal alco-holic beverages. Some authorities estimate that nearly as much is paid for illegal liquor. Let us be conservative and place the total at \$5,000,000,000. The liquor dealers collect revenues from their customers and leave soclety to care for the results. Dr. H. M. Pollock, mental-hyglene statistician for New York State Department of Health, estimates that the economic loss to the Nation of those who have indulged in alcohol sufficiently to be arrested for intoxication is over \$5,000,000,000 annually. In addition to this one group and this one item, are the economic loss of the larger group who drink and are not arrested, the extra cost for the police, the jails, the prisons, the courts, the Insane asylums, the hospitals, the accidents, the alcohol-induced disease, the alcohol-induced crimes, further reckoned at an additional \$5,000,000,000 annually. These three items, all conservatively estimated, total \$15,000,000,000 a year of the Nation's wealth. This estimate is nearly half the cost of the last war to us, and is about a quarter as much as we are spending yearly for this war.

There are three other items worthy of notice. Bootlegging, which repeal was to 472592-22425 have killed, is still very much alive. Not long ago one authority said that there were 100 illegal distillers to every legal one. The Government has licensed about a half million places to sell llquor and there are tens of thousands unlicensed. The Federal expense for trying to curb bootlegging is far in excess of what it was during prohibition. Nevada, with one legal liquor dispensary for every 94 persons, is our most drunken State, consuming over 23.5 gallons of alcoholic beverages per person per year.

per person per year. When sugar is being rationed and grain is wanted by a starving world, it is noteworthy to observe that in 1940, 2,000,000 tons of grain were used for alcoholic beverages, and over 4,000,000 gallons of molasses.

The third item, which has almost lf not quite taken on the form of a scandal is the liquor advertising offered to every magazine and newspaper which will accept it. For this the distillers and brewers spend at least \$25,-000,000 yearly, considered generally as a polite form of bribe to stifle any opposition which an editorial policy might dictate. There are still prominent magazines and newspapers which have not been for sale.

The liquor traffic is one of our most serious financial problems. The amount spent directly for liquor yearly, \$5,000,000,000, Is about twice as much as we spend for education of all kinds for all the people in the United States, Including Alaska. If there had to be a choice made between national sobriety and national revenue every patriot would choose the former, but happly they are both pulling in the same direction.

are both pulling in the same direction. But what has this to do with the war? Very much, according to the Washington authoritles. Every newspaper, every radio announcement, every poster and handbill, every civilian-defense speaker emphasizes the need for money to win the war. We are even taking the pennies from the children in the kindergarten to buy stamps, but at the same time we are permitting a waste of \$15,00,-000,000 a year, which contributes only to Inefficiency and degeneration and destruction.

Morale. President Roosevelt, In his message of May 27, 1941, used these words: "Defense today means more than fighting. It means moraie, civilian as well as military." Is "Dutch courage" our ideal of morale for an American? Is a drunken man our pattern for Army or civilian morale? Do we wish to repeat France's mlstake, when Petain's only excuse for the collapse in French morale was that the soldiers were drunk? Hitler's youth are forbldden to drink; Japan, some time ago, decreased the manufacture of alcohollc beverages 50 percent; Russla also greatly decreased the manufacture and distribution of alcoholic beverages. On the other hand, Germany is making alcohol available to the captive nations it wishes to destroy, as Japan is distributing opium among the Chinese. When we provide unlimited alcohollc beverages for our soldiers as well as for our civillans, and when drunken soldiers and drunken civilians are both common spectacles, doesn't it seem as though we had our wires crossed?

There are those who say, "A man should know when he's had enough." In reply there are two things to be said: in the first place, some people when they've had enough do not know anything; in the second place, when a man has had a drink he ls not a good judge of when he's had enough, and the more drinks he has, the poorer is his judgment. There is one thing upon which we'll agree; the morale which comes out of a bottle ls not the morale to put into a battle. No officer ever gave a wrong command because he remained sober.

Isn't the drinking of liquor a personal matter and shouldn't one decide for himself whether or not be shall drink? Ho! Ho! Isn't the buying of gasollne a personal matter and shouldn't one decide for himself how much he shall gct? Isn't it a personal matter whether or not one shall have sugar in his tea or coffee? Isn't it a personal matter whether or not he shall light his home when he wants to? There are no personal matters these days, but drinking has never been one. A matter which is responsible for crime, poverty, insanity, accidents to others, shattered homes, hungry children, disrupted morals, and countless other kinds of social degeneratlon, can never be a mere personal matter, and sane people can hardly make such a claim.

If to counterbalance its disastrous effects, alcohol could add one jot or tittle of courage, ability, skill, or manhood, we might be willing to sacrifice in order to increase morale, but unfortunately all the results are on one side of the ledger, and the effect on morale is destructive and annihilating. A sober nation with the morale born of clear thinking, determination, and courage can eventually defeat Hitler and the Japs, but a drunken nation will travel through the slough of despond to inevitable danger of defeat. Hitler or Yamashita is not our greatest menace; if we can defeat the enemy within our gates, we can look after either or both of them.

If we were not at war, the church of Jesus Christ would not remain complacent when the health, the wealth, the morale, the morals, and the religious life of people are in jeopardy. At the mercy of every bottle of liquor are human values of which the church is supposed to be the guardian. Are we no longer interested in these? Have we abdicated as the heralds of salvation and joined the forces of destruction? For just what do you as a member of a Baptist church stand, anyway?

But we are at war! We are facing not only a moral emergency but a national one as well. Let us act grown up and reasonable and Insist that the Nation shall do the same. The District of Columbia drinks four times as much spirits per person as the Nation as a whole and more than any other State or Territory.

Sometimes I have suspected that. Is it not about time that we let our Congressmen know that if that is what Congress stands for, that is not what the Nation as a whole stands for, and not what the members of the Baptist churches stand for. Let us insist that the military camps be cleaned up and the authority of the Army and Navy be used to clean up adjacent territory; let us insist that we go all out for this war and that the liquor interests be no longer the pet of our National Government. Let us insist that our Representatives represent us and not the liquor interests, and that Government control of liquor means the control of the liquor interests by Congress and not the control of Congress by the liquor interests.

Baptists have always been patriotic and loyal—we still are. We say to the President and Congress that we will give our money, we will give our time, we will give our thought, we will make every sacrifice; we will give our sons and we will give ourselves in order that this war may be fought to a successful conclusion. But we insist that when our sons go into camp, these camps be no longer recruiting centers for beer interests and liquor dealers, but that they be clean and wholesome, in order that our boys may give their best to their country; and, if in the providence of God they are called to fill a hero's grave, that they may go down to that end with a clean breath and a clear head as befits the men fighting in a righteous cause for a self-respecting Nation.

U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE: 1942

## League Workman No. 10 - 5.

NEBRASKA

DYNAMIC HAROLD D. WILSON SETS A LIVELY PACE IN NEBRASKA. Since going to the state last December, Mr. Wilson has put on an active campaign

to rouse the people to renewed activity. The state organization has been revived and much interest is manifested along various lines, including thousands of protests regarding the liquor situation around camps.

Rev. J. W. Henderson, of Lincoln, is devoting a share of his time to the work of the Allied Dry Forces and is available for temperance talks on Sunday evenings and during the week.

Initiative petitions are being circulated to submit to the electors a measure forbidding the issuance of licenses for the sale of alcoholic liquors, including beer, containing over  $\frac{1}{2}$  of 1% of alcohol, outside incorporated cities and vallages, and to repeal the section authorizing such licenses. This would prevent sale of liquors in the dimly lighted, sparsely settled districts outside city limits where there is no adequate police protection.

Mr. Wilson reports a harrowing experience that nearly cost his life. During an extremely heavy rainfall, his car stalled in a depression in the road which later proved to be the bottom of a dry creek. Before the car could be started, a fidal wave of water swept it, with Mr. Wilson inside, through a railroad trestle and down the creek fully half a mile, part of the time completely submerged. He succeeded in forcing the jammed door open and then clung to the car with one foct on the estremely narrow running board with the water up to his neck for fully an hour while the car gradually drifted down stream. Finally the car drifted into a hole, submerging so deeply that he was compelled to swin. He succeeded in reaching the shore and making his way to a farm house.

NEW RADIO BROADCAST SERIES. Beginning early in January, and running for HAMPSHIRE about three months, the N. H. Christian Civic League sponsored a series of radio broadcasts over WHEB, of which Supt. E. L. Converse gave two, Major Clayton M. Wallace two, and several others gave one each. These were well received.

The League has cooperated with the State Liquor Commission in cleaning up some of the worst beer restaurant situations. The Commission states that it plans to reduce the number of beer licenses considerably this year, and to cut out those doing practically no real restaurant business as well as some which are noisy and "not too wholesome."

NEW JERSEY FACTUAL SURVEY BEGUN. The County Conferences on "Alcohol and Modern Life," and county temperance promotion committees are beginning a survey for the facts about the number of hospital cases, accidents, property damage, days lost in employment, camp conditions, family

relief, and drunkenness due to alcohol; amount of temperance taught in the schools, and methods and suggestions for churches and schools.

The new talkie film, "Alcohol As the Doctor Sees It," put out by the Maysee Studio, is being used in schools and young people's meetings, as well as "The Chillenge," and "Dangerous Crossing," and film slides. Two dramas, "The Prisoner at the Bar," and "The Mocker," are proving very effective.

State Board meetings have been addressed by General Secretary Crabbe and Mr. Dunford, League Attorney. Recently Bishop James Cannon, Jr., spoke at Westfield. Some gains have been made in the number of no-license towns and no-Sundaysale elections.

NEW IDP-TO-DATE PROGRAMS SPONSORED. With the handicap of an old indebtedness practically removed, The League is going forward with a program of factual information, organization for local option, and the enactment of remedial and restrictive legislation, says Supt. W. H. Marsh. NEW YORK (cont.)

About 8,000 letters were sent to ministers and key persons urging petitions be sent to Washington for protective legislation for the armed forces against liquor evils.

While none of the bills favored by the drys became effective, they secured the defeat of two bills they opposed - one to permit sale of alcoholic beverages for off-premises consumption by confectionary stores, and one to lengthen hours of sale for on-premises from 19 to 21 hours per day up-State, and from 20 to 22 hours per day in New York City. Four wet bills were signed by the governor - one permitting an established retail alcoholic beverage business to remain and continue to operate if a new school or church were erected within 200 feet of said liquor business, and three to bring into harmony Sunday sale provisions of the Penal Law and the A.B.C. Law, permitting off-premises beer sale by food stores.

OHIO

MCNAUGHT CONTINUES EXCELLENT WORK. The Headquarters Committee of the League meets on June 18, when Supt. S. P. McNaught will present an interesting program for consideration and adoption. He urges that local option campaigns be started now to keep up the record for dry victories, and

that 50% of the voters' names be secured to the petition before it is filed. Liquor permits have been granted in large numbers in close proximity to industrial plants and military areas. Mr. McNaught urges the voters to get rid of these saloons.

PENN-SYLVANIA

McBRIDE'S SCHOOL PROGRAM. The most effective educational work being done at present, reports Dr. F. Scott McBride, is the Chart Program in the public schools. About 250,000 young people have been reached with this message within the last year.

"Ten Nights in a Bar Room," and "As the Doctor Sees It," are used as movie talkies, and "Prisoner at the Bar" as the drama. Personal contacts are made and each community is worked intensively. Where this is faithfully done the best results are being secured of any time since repeal, and old-time supporters are returning to the fight.

SPENCE SERIES OF MEETINGS. A three weeks' series of meetings has recently been concluded, with the Hon. Ben H. Spence, of Canada, as the chief speaker. This is the second series Mr. Spence has held in the state within a year. Both have been timely and effective.

Dr. McBride reports on the work done in the four districts of the state during 1941. In the Pittsburgh Area, in charge of Dr. W. P. McGarey, 133 programs were put on in the churches and facts about alcohol were presented to thousands of high school students in their assemblies... In the Harrisburg "rea 257 pastors and churches cooperated with Mr. E. N. Bergerstock, which aside from the high school phase, covered 228 meetings of various types - Sunday schools, worship services, dramas, chalk-talk and flannel-board lectures, motion pictures, ministerial groups, S. S. conventions, conferences, etc... In the Central Area Mr. F. W. Hofman visited 134 schools with an enrollment of 69,174 pupils... Mr. C. Arthur Sadofsky, of the Southwest Area, has had fine cooperation in the presentation of scientific alcohol education in both junior and senior high schools.

POLITICAL CALENDAR FURNISHED VOTERS. One of the outstanding services SOUTH furnished the voters by Dr. Albert D. Betts, Executive Secretary of CAROLINA the Federated Forces for Temperance and Law Enforcement is a Political Calendar giving the dates of registration, party conventions, primaries, and elections, with succinct data on each.

Dr. Betts reports a large and representative temperance rally in Columbia on January 20, 1942. Reports of officers and committees revealed substantial progress during 1941, and plans were shaped for the year ahead.

In addition to the Anti-Vice Law, the Legislature which closed on March 15 passed a law giving the Tax Commission discretionary power in granting and revoking beer and wine permits. Already the Commission is doing some good work with its new powers.

League Workman - No. 10 - 7.

SOUTH The Federated Forces have begun a campaign for the election of a C.ROLINA governor and other state officers, and a Legislature which will (cont.) carry out the mandate of the people in the 1940 referendum to prohibit the traffic in alcoholic beverages in the state. In the State Democratic Convention held on May 20, 1942, a resolution favoring a state-wide prohibition law was defeated 199 to 129.

SOUTH REV. JOHN E. BOOTH RETIRES. After 41 years in the ministry of the DAKOTA Evangelical Church, Rev. John E. Booth, of Big Stone City, retired at the recent conference. For about 40 years Mr. Booth has been secretary of the South Dakota Anti-Saloon League, and for much of

that time has also been a member of the National Board of Directors. He has been indefatigably devoted to the temperance cause and has rendered valuable service. Sam Morris held 18 meetings in seven days in South Dakota, and in

every place the people were interested and instructed. "We hope and expect," writes Mr. H. E. Dawes, former superintendent of the League, "that this is the beginning of renewed, organized warfare against the entrenched enemy in this state."

TENNESSEE KNOXVILLE AND KNOX COUNTY GO DRY TWO TO ONE: The recent splendid victory in Knoxville and Knox County, where the drys won two to one, has been an incentive to the other counties of the state, says Supt.
Robert S. Tinnon. There is a decided tendency to the upgrade in temperance sentiment. Chattanooga, about as large as Knoxville (125,000) and Hamilton County are preparing for another vote. Only 14 of the 95 counties in the state have legal sale of whisky.

VIRGINIA SUPT. RICHARDSON RETIRES. After ten years of faithful, unremitting and sacrificial service to the Virginia League, Supt. E. J. Richardson retired as of June 1. The National League desires to express

its appreciation for the efficient manner in which he has conducted the work of the state, and the hope that he may have many more years of usefulness of a less strenuous nature - one does not use the word "rest," implying inactivity, in connection with Mr. Richardson.

The Virginia League celebrated its 41st anniversary on March 12, 1942. Supt. Richardson recounted some of the recent activities, which included securing the passage of an act giving supervisors of counties, and city and town councils, the right to ban Sunday sale of beer and wine. As a result of this action, there were as of April 28, 1942, 49 counties, 40 towns, and 6 cities which prohibited the sale of beer and wine on Sunday, except that in Charlottesville the ban applies to wine only, and in Clifton does not apply between the hours of 2 and 6 p.m. About 21 local option elections have been held in the state since

repeal, the drys winning about three-fourths of them. Recently the League has been active with motion pictures, including

"Ten Nights in a Bar Room," "The Challenge," "Dangerous Crossing," and reaching not far from half a million people, about 65% of them being young people. A state-wide conference of the United Legislative Temperance Commit-

A state-wide conference of the United DegleTate groups) met in Richtee (consisting chiefly of the Anti-Saloon League and W.C.T.U. groups) met in Richmond on February 24, 1942. Hon. Joseph T. Bryson, Congressman from South Carolina, and Edward B. Dunford, Attorney for the National League, were guest speakers. Other speakers included Major Jesse M. Johnson, Director of the Department of Welfare of Richmond; Mr. F. W. Gwaltney, Executive Secretary of the Virginia Hospital Board; and Dr. J. S. DeJarnette, of the State Hospital at Staunton. WASHINGTON L

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM ADOPTED. The Temperance Association, reports W. J. Herwig, has adopted the following program: 1. Defeat the liq-

our campaign to sell hard liquor by the drink, permit cocktail bars in restaurants, taverns and hotels, and sell beer and wine on Sunday. 2. Break the liquor-controlled organization in both Houses of the Legislature by defeating wets in the primaries or general election. 3. Secure legislation (a) prohibiting minors entering beer taverns; (b) prohibiting all billboard and radio liquor advertising; (c) passage of a county option law; (d) placing the sale of fortified wine in the state liquor stores; (e) provide for an adequate system of determining the influence of liquor in drinking driving, and stiffer fines for driving while under the influence of liquor. 4. Cooperate to secure the passage of S. 860 prohibiting sale of Hquor in Army camps. 5. Continue and enlarge educational work in high schools and colleges, where 80,000 copies of "Don't Collide with Science," and 106,000 copies of "Meet Mr. Alcohol" have been distributed and some 200,000 high school and college pupils have heard the Temperance Association Speakers.

WEST VIRGINIÀ COUNCIL OF WAR. At a remarkably well attended Council of War in Charleston, Supt. B. E. Ewing was elected chairman of the executive committee of 15 of the newly organized United Dry Forces, consisting of the Anti-Saloon League, the W.C.T.U., the State Christian Endeavor

Union, and the State Council of Churches and Christian Education. The immediate legislative goal is to put beer into the status of legal intoxicating liquor under the constitution, which forbids the consumption and sale of intoxicating liquors in a saloon and other public places. It would put beer under local option, prohibit. its sale to minors, on Sunday, and in the vicinity of schools and churches.

One of the projects approved by the Council is greatly expanding the educational and informational facilities, which includes increased circulation of the West Virginia Issue, with one edition of a newspaper with full state coverage before the primary election, a series of radio programs, and wider use of newspapers and other facilities of publicity.

Supt. Ewing personally assisted in setting up 16 county organizations within the past year. He writes that recent developments have aroused the citizenry to a fighting pitch such as he has not seen in the twenty years he has been engaged in temperance and prohibition activities.

DISTRICT DRUNK-DRIVING TESTS URGED. With 422 arrests and 546 permits revoked OF for driving while drunk during the 1941 fiscal year, Chairman Ran-COLUMBIA dolph, of the House District Committee, introduced H.R. 4194 "to provide for the use of scientific tests to determine the degree of in-

toxication of motor vehicle operators. Hearings were held before a sub-committee of the District Committee, at which testimony in favor of the bill was given by Harry S. Wender, vice president of the Citizens' Associations; M. O. Eldridge, assistant traffic director; Dr. A. Magruder McDonald, District coroner, and his assistant, Dr. Richard M. Rosenberg; Rev. T. E. Boorde, of the United Dry Forces; Andrew Wilson, of the Anti-Saloon League; and W: I. Cleveland, manager of the District division of the A.A.A. The sub-committee reported favorably, but no action has yet been taken by the full committee.on the bill.

HAWAII THE BATTLE OF THE BOTTLE continues, reports Rev. Chris J. Benny, Executive Director of the Temperance League. Prior to Dec. 7 the Legislature had liberalized regulations, enforcement was lax, there was much leniency toward drunkenness, particularly as it related to service men. Then came Peerl Harbor. Martial law immediately stopped sale of all liquor. Arrests for drunkenness fell from an average of slightly over 13 per day to 3½ per day and other beneficial results followed. The liquor interests succeeded in having the ban removed on Feb. 24. During the following month arrests for drunkenness rose to 21 per day, 7 times as many as during the martial law period. The Temperance League presented an Observational Survey to the military governor and the people on April 3.

### STATE ACTIVITIES

ARKANSAS CAMPAIGN FOR LOCAL OPTION. The prohibition forces are circulating petitions for more effective local option laws. While only about 16,000 signatures are needed, Supt. C. C. Coulter urges that 30,000 be secured to forestall liquor efforts to prevent a vote in November.

GEORGIA

LEAGUE REORGANIZED. Dr. Atticus Webb, representative of the Anti-Saloon League of America, has been active in the state and succeeded in reorganizing the League with a strong personnel of distinguished

dry leaders, both clergy and lay, as officials, including: President, Hon. W. W. Gaines; treasurer, Dr. B. L. Bugg; finance committee, Hon. C. L. Shepard, Dr. T. F. Callaway, Dr. C. R. Stauffer, Dr. Harold Shields, Dr. Louie D. Newton, Dr. Willis A. Sutton, Dr. O. M. Seigler, and Rev. A. J. Harper. A state executive committee of 31 members was formed. Dr. Webb will serve as state superintendent.

The League is preparing a questionaire to be sent to every candidate for governor and for the Legislature, and will seek to elect men pledged to repeal the liquor law forced upon Georgia by a Legislature that had more respect for the liquor traffic than for the 10,000 majority cast against it by the citizens. A monthly paper, "The Georgia Issue," is sent to 2,000 pastors and 3,000 laymen.

ILLINOIS EDUCATIONAL CAMPAIGN STRESSED. The year-round program of the League includes the High School Program, which uses large charts in scientific education on alcohol. This is building for the future, and is meeting with good response from the people as well as the students. At the end of the third year, 65 counties plus Cook, outside of Chicago, will have been visited, 929 school systems with 173,954 pupils and teachers being reached by the scientific facts about alcohol.

Sam Morris meetings were held in 24 places which drew great crowds. Supt. Dexheimer is enthusiastic about the inspiration of the series for war-time prohibition, local option elections, and the general work of the state.

Field workers are setting up local option elections for November and informing themselves on the candidates running for office. One of the legislative objectives for the next session of the Legislature is a county option law.

A training school is being conducted at Decatur to prepare young men for League work.

An experiment is being conducted in a number of cities, where a financial drive for the League is being conducted similar to those carried out by the Community Chest or Red Cross.

IOWA

PRIMARY FIGHT. The recent primaries held the center of interest in Iowa, reports Supt. C. C. McCaw. Wet candidates won the nomination for U. S. Senator in both parties. The Republican candidate for gov-

ernor, extremely "liberal" on the liquor question, was defeated for nomination 4 to 1, largely, it is said, because of information furnished the voters by the League. The League is working to secure a local option law, and believes a

majority of the candidates now running favor such a measure.

Sam Morris held 26 meetings from April 26 to May 3, with very gratifying results.

KANSAS TEMPERANCE WORK MOST ACTIVE FOR YEARS. Supt. R. E. Farley called at the National Offices in Washington on June 5, and reported the temperance work the most active in years. Many petitions were secured

for the Sheppard Bill. Committees were organized in all the colleges to advance temperance education. More requests for meetings are coming than Mr. Farley can fill, so four Methodist district superintendents, and the executive secretaries of the Christian Church and of the Baptist Church are holding meetings for Kansas Drys. KANSAS (cont.) Kansas has a large wheat surplus and the prospects are good for the largest wheat crop in 40 years. A campaign is being organized to convert the surplus wheat into rubber. As another war measure, the

Kansas Drys urge the repeal of the beer law. There are two big camps, Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley, with air training fields at the two camps named and also at Kansas City. The slogan is, "Dry camps for military and aviation personnel."

The Kansa's Drys are in a campaign for the election of a dry House in order to secure the passage of a measure allowing local option on beer, for which the Senate voted 30 to 3.

**KENTUCKY** 

public hearing was held on June 9.

GOING DRY FASTER THAN ANY OTHER STATE IN THE UNION! Last year Kentucky made as much whisky as the other 47 states together, says Supt. Walter J. Hoshal, yet the state is going dry faster than any other in the Union, excluding everything above 1% of alcohol. The attributes the League's success to four factors: 1. Intensive educational campaign. 2. Efficient state

and county organization, and cooperation between the League and the counties. 3. Rapid change in sentiment against liquor. 4. Bone-headed plays of the liquor outfit. Kentucky is voting dry at an average of one county every six weeks.

With Lee County in the dry column by a majority of 247, half the counties and 56% of the area, with 30% of the population of the state are dry. 140,000 people were added to the dry population in the five counties that have voted dry so far this year. Plans are under way for votes in four more counties in September.

DRY ZONES. Supt. Leon W. Sloan is in Baton Rouge, attending the reg-LOUISIANA ular biennial session of the Legislature. A bill has been introduced to restore the dry zones which formerly existed around 51 high schools, grade schools and colleges in 25 different parishes. In one parish this would create a dry zone around every incorporated town, but one, and in another parish put a dry zone around every high school and practically clean the county of liquor sale. One of the large government camps is located in this parish.

LOCAL OPTION ELECTIONS COMING. Supt. A. J. Davis reports that the MASSAnext local option elections will be held on November 3, 1942, when CHUSETTS three questions will be submitted to every city and town in the state. Governor Saltonstall recently appointed a Special Commission to study the liquor laws of the state and make recommendations to the Legislature. The first

OFF TO A GOOD START. In the short time that Mr. E. C. Prettyman has MICHIGAN been in Michigan he has made a fine beginning in the educational work in which he has specialized.

· A conference on Alcohol and Modern Life, under the auspices of the Detroit and Michigan Methodist Conferences, was held on April 9, 1942, in Central Methodist Church, Lansing. The following topics were discussed: I. National Defense and the Liquor Problem, by Rev. Spencer B. Owens; II. Drinking and Driving: Science and Drinking Driving, by Dr. L. M. Snyder, member Committee on Drinking Driving Tests, National Safety Council; demonstration of the drunkometer; film, "Drinking Driving Tests," by E. C. Prettyman; III. Local Option Strategy, by Rev. Earl Sawyer; IV. Enforcement Problems - State: Liquor Commission - Ralph Thomas, Chairman of the Michigan Liquor Control Commission; State Police - Corporal Joseph Childs; Local: Lansing Police - Chief John F. O'Brien; Mayor Ruth Huston Whipple, of Plymouth; V. Legislation: Some Needed Changes in the Present Liquor Laws - How They May be Obtained, by Rev. Amos Bogart; VI. The Church and the Alcohol Problem: The Church and Youth - Rev. Wayne H. Fleener; The Church and the Problem - Rev. S. S. Closson.

# THE LEAGUE WORKMAN

The Anti-Saloon League of America 131 B St. S.E., Washington, D.C.

# NATIONAL ACTIVITIES

BISHOP CUSHMAN, NATIONAL PRESIDENT

an and a marked a to

Bishop Ralph S. Cushman, president of the Anti-Saloon League of America, was designated chairman of a special committee appointed by the several church agencies and temperance groups to bring to the attention of the churches the need for governmental action for the protection of the men in the armed services from exploitation by the liquor and vice interests.

Number 10

June, 1942

Mothers Day, May 10, was chosen as the day for making the appeal in the churches. Despite the shortness of time and other handicaps, a very creditable response was secured.

Nearly half a million of the pamphlet, "Defend Our Defenders," were sent out from Bishop Cushman's office, and in addition, it was reprinted locally in a number of places. While there is no way of accurately tabulating the results, since most of the petitions were sent direct to Washington and not to any central office, it is probable that several million signatures were secured. The Congressional Record has reflected this in the large number of petitions, "numerously signed," reported received by Senators and Representatives.

We desire to express to Bishop Cushman our appreciation for the fine leadership he gave, despite the heavy pressure of episcopal duties. He wishes to thank the superintendents and workers of the League who cooperated in the effort.

GENERALIt is Doctor Crabbe now! At the recent commencement, Ohio NorthernSECLETARYUniversity, Ada, Ohio, conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws uponCRABBEGeorge W. Crabbe, General Secretary of the Anti-Saloon League ofAmerica. Our sincere congratulations on the well-deserved honor.In addition to carrying on the general executive duties, Dr. Crabbe

has attended the Southeastern Convention at St. Petersburg, Florida, conferred with temperance leaders in various parts of that state and in North Carolina, and also attended State Board meetings in West Virginia, Illinois and New Jersey.

Dr. Crabbe has continued as superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Maryland. The annual State Board meeting was held on May 28. It was the largest in recent years and was concluded with a luncheon at the Stafford Hotel.

Dr. Crabbe announces the election of Mr. Harold D. Wilson as Executive Director of the Allied Dry Forces of Nebraska; the reorganization of the League in Georgia with Dr. Atticus Webb as superintendent; and the retirement of Supt. E. J. Richardson, of the Virginia League, on June 1.

0. G. The League's <u>convention manager</u> performed his duties in his usual CHRISTGAU efficient manner at St. Petersburg, where the 15th annual Southeastern Convention was held in the First Baptist Church in February. Mr. Coristgau has presented the drama, "Prisoner at the Bar," and the

moving picture, "Ten Nights in a Bar Room," in Maryland, South Carolina, Florida and other states with great success. Recently he met with the officials of the South Dakota League at Big Stone City and counseled with them on the possibility of engaging a full-time worker for that state.

BISHOP JAMES CANNON, JR. Bishop Cannon has been active in holding meetings in Florida, Alabama, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey and Kentucky. He has done outstanding work in the South in arousing public sentiment on the need for protection of the armed forces against liquor evils. SAM <u>Sam Morris</u> continues in great demand as a speaker on the temperance MORRIS question. He has spoken recently for the Leagues in Illinois, South Dakota, Iowa, and other states.

EDWARD B. DUNFORD, ATTORNEY In addition to looking after legislative and legal matters, <u>Mr. Dun-</u> ford attended and spoke at the Southeastern Convention in St. Petersburg, attended a state-wide conference of temperance workers in Virginia, and the State Board meetings in New Jersey and Maryland. He has contributed a number of articles to temperance publications and to the press.

RESEARCH Miss Laura Lindley, Research Secretary, has sent material on the DEPARTMENT social and economic phases of the temperance question to League workers and other interested persons. Material has been prepared for the Quarterly Temperance Sundays, which will be continued this year.

SAINT PETERSBURG CONVENTION For the fifteenth year the League met in <u>St Petersburg</u> in its <u>South-</u> eastern Convention on February 22 - 24, 1942. The First Baptist Church, of which Dr. David M. Gardner is pastor, was host. The opening address was delivered by <u>Alonzo L. Baker</u>, of Los Angeles

and Battle Creek, on "Needed: Strength for a Victorious America."

General Secretary Crabbe opened the convention and outlined the plans for this critical period.

On Monday afternoon <u>Rev. N. S. Jackson</u>, superintendent of the Mississippi League, spoke on conditions around the military camps. <u>Mr. O. G. Christgau</u> spoke on "One Foot in a Bar Room," and <u>Edward B. Dunford, LL. D</u>. attorney for the League, presented the legal phases of the situation.

The speakers on Monday evening were <u>Bishop James Cannon, Jr</u>., chairman of the Administrative Committee of the National League, and <u>Hon. Frank H. Trotter</u>, president of the Tennessee League.

On Tuesday afternoon, <u>Rev. C. C. McCaw</u>, Iowa League superintendent, reported on war-time conditions in his section, as did <u>Rev. R. E. Farley</u>, Kansas superintendent, for the situation in his state. <u>Dr. Newton E. Davis</u>, Associate National Secretary of the Lincoln-Lee Legion, gave "Observations of the Liquor Traffic from the Standpoint of Hospitals and Clinics."

At the final session on Tuesday evening the speakers were <u>Hon. Luren</u> <u>D. Dickinson</u>, former governor of Michigan, and <u>Dr. F. Scott McBride</u>, superintendent of Pennsylvania, and former General Superintendent.

Among those who presided at the various sessions were <u>Mr. Charles E.</u> <u>Coleman</u>, member of the National Executive Committee and National Treasurer; <u>Rev.</u> <u>Robert S. Tinnon</u>, superintendent of Tennessee; <u>Dr. A. Lawrence Miller</u>, of Pennsylvania, a member of the National Executive Committee; <u>Dr. Edwin C. Dixon</u>, of Wisconsin, president of the State League; <u>Dr. Howard Hyde Russell</u>, Founder of the League; and Dr. David M. Gardner, member of the National Executive Committee.

Forums were conducted on Monday and Tuesday forenoons, with Dr. Crabbe, Mr. Baker, Mr. Dunford and others acting as discussion leaders.

THE SHEPPARD BILL S. 860, to prohibit sale and possession of alcoholic beverages in military camps and in mones around them, remains on the Senate calendar. The war has greatly stimulated interest in it. On Jan. 16 Sen. O'Daniel moved consideration, which was refused, and Sen. Johnson of Colorado was also unsuccessful in his effort to secure a

record vote. Sen. Bilbo spoke in favor of the bill on May 28, and on June 4 Sen. Lee served notice that he would move to call it up at an early date.

Senator Bilbo first announced an unofficial public hearing would be held in the Senate Caucus Room on June 22, but on June 17 cancelled the call and indicated that he would press for a vote at the first opportunity when there is a full attendance of the friends of the measure.

Laura Lindley, Research Secretary	L-42-10
121 D St S F Washing Berebary	5-282
131 B St. S.E., Washington, D.C.	

ALCOHOL FACTS vs. LIQUOR PROPAGANDA Quarterly Temperance Lesson, June 28, 1942

POVERTY Charles Booth, in his investigations of the population of East London, AND DRINK concludes that the poverty of about 14% of the poor, aside from that Prov. 21.17 of the paupers, was attributable to their excessive indulgence in

liquor. In the United States the Committee of Fifty concluded that of persons actually helped by charitable societies, about 25% were in such plight because of the use of liquor, either on the part of the applicants themselves or of other persons. (Herman Feidman, in Prohibition, Its Econ. and Indus. Aspects)

THE ADDER'S After the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941, martial TONGUE law was declared, and all places selling spirits, beer or wine were Prov. 23.32 closed. Hawaii is a "combat zone" with military posts within the

city limits as well as near Honolulu. The good effects of this order were at once apparent, but the liquor dealers and their friends made such a strong fight that the order was modified and sale of alcoholic beverages restored on Feb. 24, 1942. A comparison of the wet and dry periods follows:

1. For the year ending June 30, 1941, the average number of drunks arrested in Honolulu was slightly in excess of 13 per day.

2. For the 78 days of military prohibition, Dec. 7 to Feb. 24, there were 268 drunks, an average of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per day.

3. For the 30-day period between Feb. 24 and March 26, following modification of martial law, there were 634 drunks arrested, an average of slightly more than 21 per day, about 7 times as many as during the matrial law period.

4. Since this first "modification spree" the arrests of drunks have tapered off to 9 or 10 per day.

5. In liquorless January there were 114 major accidents; in March, after liquor sales were rest red, there were 214 major accidents, or 100 more.

6. Prior to Dec. 7 there were 486 outlets, all classes. On March 26 the number had cropped to 305, or 181 fewer. No aliens are either selling or serving liquor at this time.

"The legalization of liquor during war times challenges every basic plea for personal sacrifice; for the purchase of war bonds; endurance of the people to suffer without luxuries; threws added burdens on both civilian and military enforcement agencies; is a constant and potential danger spot; and contributes to the general belief that this is, after all, not a serious war," says the report by the Temperance League of Hawaii to the Military Governor.

SOPHISTRY. Alcoholic insanity remains at a high level, Census Bureau reports show.<sup>4</sup> MENTAL EFFECTS During 1939 there were 110,773 first admissions to all hospitals Isa. 5.20-21 (state, county and city, veterans', and private). Of these, 12,275,

or 11.1%, were directly due to alcohol. In the state hospitals, 9.9% of the first admissions were due to alcohol directly; in the county and city hospitals, 6.4%; in the Veterans' Administration hospitals, 13.3%; and in private hospitals, 18.0%. The 1939 figures follow:

	Total first admissions	Alceholic psychosis	Alcoholism	Total due to alcohol	% of total due to alcohol
State hospitals Co. & city hosp. Vet. Admr. hosp.	81,655 6,713 6,126	3,498 317 292 681	4,548 112 523 2,304	8,046 429 815 2,985	9.9 6.4 13.3 18.0
Private hospitals Total	16,279 .110,773	4,788	7,487	12,275	11.1

JUSTIFYING Which may be more destructive - Five Beers in Manhattan, or an unknown NRONGS FOR REVENUE A motorman on the Hudson and Manhattan Railroad, during his time off Isa. 5.22-23 the evening of April 27, 1942, drank <u>five beers</u>, according to a voluntarily signed statement. (New York Times, 4-28-42)

# On this beer the government received perhaps 15 to 20 cents in revenue.

When the motorman returned to duty, on his first trip eastward, the train of six cars was wrecked in the tube under Exchange Place in Jersey City. A chemical analysis sustained the charge that he was under the influence of liquor. <u>Five beers</u> and the results were:

> Five persons killed, including one Navy Yard war worker. 222 persons injured, 53 remaining in hospitals over night or longer.

Connections between down town New York and Jersey City c mpletely tied up, forcing commuters to new routes and causing great confusion.

Smashed six cars, reducing some of them to scrap.

Smashed conduits carrying 6,000 telephone trunks, each cable carrying from 130 to 1,200 wires, affecting about 300,000 subscribers, and tying up vitally important communications systems in the greatest city in the country for at least two days. Led to the attempted suicide of the trainmaster who dispatched the train.

American fliers bombed Japanese cities recently. Was the destruction resulting from this raid, undertaken at tremendous cost to the government in ouilding the planes, making the bombs, training the pilots and risking their lives in the attempt. comparatively greater than that resulting from the consumption of five beers in America?

VICE AND A writer in Liberty Magazine, published in Toronto, Canada, disclosed Liquor in a recent number what the brewery interests hope to achieve as a Hosea 4.11 result of this war:

"During the last war," he says, "it will be recalled that many agencies bucked the sending of cigarettes to the boys overseas, but by the time 1918 had come around all such prejudices were swept aside. \*\*\* And the same thing, it is felt, will be true of beer before the present conflict has gone much farther."

The effort to increase the consumption of alcoholic beverages by the armed forces, defense workers, and civilians is particularly reprehensible in war time. "If it is stupid to waste money and materials at this juncture, it is treasonable to waste manpower. The prime wasters of manpower are the venereal diseases," says Surgeon General Thos. Parran, of the U. S. Public Health Service, in "Plain Words About Venereal Disease,"

"It would be difficult to over-estimate the influence of alcohol in morals or its role in the spread of venereal disease," says the British Royal Commission in "A Review of the Effects of Alcohol;" while Langmead and Hunt, in "Alcohol and Man," by Emerson, say, "The association of alcoholism with syphilis appears, however, to be justified, and there is some undue incidence of infection (especially among men) whilst under the influence of alcohol. Forel's statistics showed that 76% of mon and 66% of women were infected whilst drunk."

Dr. Parran finds prostitution closely allied to the "kindred evils of drunkenness, drug addiction and larceny," and concludes, "No matter how well we are armed, we shall not have the strength to stand our ground unless we make our men as good as the instruments of fighting we give them. \*\*\* Infections do not occur in the camps. The source of all venereal infection lies in the civilian population. It follows that the protection of soldiers, sailors and defense workers from syphilis and gonorrhea is a civilian responsibility. \*\*\* There is no single contribution which will mean more in terms of manpower now and relief from economic burdens later."

One phase of the economic burden resulting from venereal disease is shown by the 1939 Census Bureau reports from state, county and city, veterans', and private hospitals for the insane. Of all first admissions in 1939, 8.6% were due to syphilis. Alcohol and venereal disease together were responsible for about one in five admissions to hospitals for the insane, and one-fifth of the cost to the public.

JUDGMENT ON The F B I in 1941 examined 630,568 fingerprint cards giving data on THE NATION violations of state laws and municipal ordinances. Of these, 17.6% FOL SELLING represented persons under 21, and 31.5% persons under 25 years of age. BOYS AND GIRLS Of the total number fingerprinted, 222,066 were arrested for offenses FOL DRINK connected with liquor, or 35.2%. Young people under 21 committed Joel 3.2-3 5.9% of these offenses, and those under 25, 15.4% See the table:

Offenses charged	Total no. fingerpr.	No. under 21	% under 21	No. under 25	25	
Total all causes	630,568	110,772	17.6	148,442	31.5	
Drunkenness	142,748	5,763	4.0	16,547	11.6	
Driving while intox.	34,007	1,421	4.2	5,032	14.8	
Disorderly conduct	34,948	5,224	14.9	10,603	30.3	
Liquor law violation	10,363	769	7.4	2,073	20.0	
Total due to liquor	222,066	13,177	5.9	34,255	15.4	

SPIRITS OR THE SPIRIT E\_h. 5.18
"No one can appreciate so fully as a doctor the amazingly large percentage of human disease and suffering which is directly traceable to worry, fear, conflict, immorality, dissipation, and ignorance - to unwholesome thinking and unclean living. The sincere acceptance of

the principles and teachings of Christ with respect to the life of mental peace and joy, the life of unselfish thought and clean living, would at once wipe out more than one half the difficulties, diseases and sorrows of the human race. In other words, more than one half of the present affliction of mankind could be prevented by the tremendous prophylactic power of actually living up to the personal and practical spirit of the real teachings of Christ." (Dr. William S. Sadler, Director of the Chicago Institute of Research and Diagnosis, quoted by E. Stanley Jones in "Is the Kingdom of God Realism?")

# WE ARE AT WAR!

by

#### GEORGE BARTON CUTTEN President of Colgate University

Delivered at the Northern Baptist Convention, Cleveland, Ohio, May 27, 1942

We are at war. Alcohol and war do not mix any better than alcohol and gasoline. Perhaps a mere voter and a modest taxpayer should not be expected to bother his head about the conduct of the war, but the fundamental strategy seems to be for us to drink our way to victory. Is this to be any more successful than the strategy the Washington officials outlined for us in 1932 when we were supposed to drink our way to sobriety? Wcll, not so far, anyway. Pearl Harbor was our first laboratory experiment in realization of this strategy and it can hardly be termed a success. Seventy-seven days of prohibition before December 7, instead of seventy-seven days afterward, might have saved us from the worst naval defeat this country has suffered in its one hundred and sixty-six years of history, and we might have been saved also the sorrow and loss caused by the deaths of nearly 3,000 who were killed there.

nearly 3,000 who were killed there. The experiment continued. According to press dispatches, during the seventy-seven days of prohibition in Oahu, there were 263 arrests, an average of 3.3 daily. When prohibition was discontinued by military order, the first day there were seventeen men and five women convicted of drunkenness, and during the next thirty days the average number of arrests was over twenty-one — more than six times the average during the seventyseven days of prohibition. Barrooms, taverns, beerhalls, and cocktail lounges are not fitting schools for soldiers who have a world war on their hands, and Army officials who think otherwise should re-assign the thinking to competent heads. Van Loon told us that Singapore "maintains a set of barrooms the splendor of which is famous all over the Orient." How much this had to do with the collapse of the Gibraltar of the East has not yet been evaluated. The American Business Men's Research Foundation

The American Business Men's Research Foundation not long ago issued a statement in which were these words: "Beverage alcohol has played an amazing part in undermining and ultimately bringing about the defeat of practically every nation that has lost the crucial decision on the field of battle or in conflict with other people. Liquor has defeated more men, more armies, more nations than any other cause." In 1925, the famous French editor Payot wrote: "Alcoholism, under the indifferent eye of the authorities is, indeed, destroying the nation." As recently as the French debacle, the verdict of the government was, "Alcohol was the chief cause of the French armies' collapse, and the worst of France's four greatest problems." General Petain, with tears in his voice if not in his eyes, said: "Our soldiers were drunk and could not fight. Since the victory of the World War, the spirit of pleasure, of riotous living and drinking, has prevailed over the spirit of sacrifice." France was at that time consuming on an average of two and a half quarts of alcoholic beverage a week per person, the largest amount of any nation in the world. That is the way France drank her way to victory. All the great nations now at war, with the single exception of our own, have made somewhat drastic regulations for the curtailment of the use of beverage alcohol.

The day after the election in 1932, the Brewery News said: "Not one-tenth of one per cent of the youth of America know the taste of real becr — we must educate them."

The Brewers' Digest for May, 1941, enthused in the following words:

"One of the finest things that could have happened to the Brewery industry was the insistence by high ranking officers to make beer available at Army Camps.

"The opportunity presented to the Brewing Industry by this measure is so obvious that it is superfluous to go into detail.

"Here is the chance for brewers to cultivate a taste for beer in millions of young men who will eventually constitute the largest beer-consuming section of our population."

And they were right! Nothing seems to be plainer than that we are all out for the brewers and distillers. Every large industry in this country has been curtailed except the liquor industry. Cameras, radio sets, and firearms in the possession of aliens, about which we have been making such a fuss, might do some harm to our war effort, but how insignificant compared with the liquor interest which is not only not hindered but actually encouraged! Housewives are being rationed in sugar, but alcohol is still being made from sugar or molasses. The beer and whiskey trucks have tire priority, the milk delivery trucks have not. Babies in the home can be deprived of milk and sugar, but the distillers go blithely on their way, the favored children of Washington. Nothing shows more clearly liquor's favored position than its exemption from the provisions of the Federal Food, Drug and Cosmetic Act.

On December 31, 1941, there were over 511,000,000 gallons of whiskey stocked in warehouses in this country, a five years' supply. This could readily be redistilled to produce alcohol for the manufacture of munitions, but so far not one gallon has been touched for this purpose. We are sacrificing our energy and resources to build ships, for this is now our greatest need. Why ships? Well, for one thing, to send grain to Great Britain to be returned to us as Scotch whiskey. Are we insane?

Isn't it about time we became serious about this war? Do we want to win it, or do we want to forget about it in a national drunken debauch? Three things have been designated time and again as absolutely essential to winning the war. What are they? First, the health of the people; second, the wealth of the people, and third, the morale of the people. Let us look at them:

Health. One medical authority in this country lists our five most serious health problems as: alcohol, tuberculosis, venereal disease, cancer, and heart troubles — and he places alcohol first. Isn't that somewhat extreme? Not at all! One of our large insurance companies reports that during the last decade rejections for heavy alcoholic indulgence have increased from 12% to 34%. One-third of insurable men and women who are condemned as unsafe risks for insurance are rejected because of drink. From 1932 to 1936, the first four years of Repeal, rejections by one company on account of drinking increased 183%. Insurance companics arc hard boiled business institutions, and can't afford to make mistakes.

But this is not all: alcohol is not only a scrious problem in its own right, but two of the other problems are aggravated by it. For years we have known that tuberculosis is made more dangerous by the use of alcohol, and some physicians say that as many as 90% of venereal infections are contracted when under the influence of alcohol. The New York State Liquor Authority has said, "The more alcohol, the more syphilis."

Alcohol is a serious contributing factor to two other major health problems: insanity and accidents. Psychiatrists are much concerned about the increasing burden which insanity is placing upon the personnel and finances of this country. More beds are occupied for insane patients than for all others combined. Dr. Dayton, working for the Rockefeller Foundation, reported that 20% of the mental patients of the United States are alcoholics. In some cities and some states the percentage is much higher. 40% of the admissions to Bellevue are alcoholics; 32% of the male admissions in Massachusetts are connected with alcoholism and the percentage of such female cases is rapidly increasing. In California, 33% of admissions to their seven mental institutions are alcoholic cases. Mental diseases, due to alcoholism, are steadily increasing to the highest peak in the history of this country.

One need scarcely mention the matter of alcohol and accidents, especially automobile accidents. The matter has become so serious that even the distillers and brewers, afraid it may interfere with their business, are advertising and advising against driving after drinking. 40,000 persons are killed and a million and one-half injured every year in the United States by automobile accidents, and the percentage caused by drinking is estimated anywhere from 40% of these down. We do know that the number of deaths and accidents varies from year to year with the amount of alcoholic beverages consumed. In this situation it is not a matter of a single individual's being drunk and unfit for duty; this is a mechanized war and men must handle airplanes, ships, tanks, trucks, and jeeps. It is not only the life of one man that is in jeopardy, but the lives of hundreds of others depend upon his clear head and unclouded judgment.

No other poison causes so many deaths as ethyl alcohol. It is more deadly than morphine, cocaine, or heroin, or all combined. Alcohol causes more deaths than any one of the thirty-one infectious diseases, some of which in the past have assumed the proportions of plagues. How inhuman and barbarous we should consider the Japs if they distributed typhoid or tuberculosis germs among our armies, yet we license men to distribute alcoholic beverages to our soldiers, and even to distribute them in their camps.

Resistance to any disease is dependent upon good nutrition, and no sane physician would train a man on alcohol. Since the repeal of the 18th Amendment, beer for the parents has been substituted for milk for the children. The first year of Repeal, milk consumption in the United States dropped 37,000,000 quarts, the second year 59,000,000 quarts, and the third year 69,000,000 quarts. The case against alcohol medically and socially is just as strong and just as clear as the case against opinm. The discontinuance of alcohol as a beverage would be the greatest advance in public health since the application of the bacteriological origin of disease. The insidiousness of its attack makes alcohol the more dangerous, and when 30% of the drinkers become addicts we cannot afford to trifle with it. Nature unrelentingly presents her bill.

If the nation is to specialize in public health, and we really mean it, the first step is clearly indicated. If our soldiers are to be physically fit that step becomes not only advisable but imperative, for all through historical time alcohol and venereal disease have been the twin detriments to fitness in the armies of the world. You can repeal the 18th Amendment, but you cannot repeal the effect that alcohol and venereal disease have upon the human body. Further, nature impolitely disregards the authority of Congress when the latter declares that 3.2 beer is not intoxicating.

Money. Macauley said at one time: "Even the law of gravitation would be brought into dispute were there a pecuniary interest involved." Nothing shows the truth of this statement more clearly than the liquor traffic. This traffic is concerned with money on one side and on the other with the health and lives of men, their morals and their social standing, the food and clothing of their children, the happiness of their family life, their intellectual integrity, and their contribution to their country in time of peril. When stated thus baldly it hardly seems possible that one man could be found who would gamble with the human lives and interests of his fellows to that extent, but there are such, and not all among the lowest classes either.

The story of the repeal of the 18th Amendment in this country is about as sordid a tale as besmirches the pages of the history of any country at any time. By it, faith in one's fellow men is rudely shattered, and our reliance in men of big business has received a severe shock. Fortunately only a portion of them were involved. It seems that about two hundred and fifty of this country's prominent capitalists opposed the enforcement of federal laws and openly rejoiced in the success of crime and lawlessness, coerced if they did not bribe legislators, distributed an unlimited amount of propaganda which proved to be false, made promises which they knew they were unable to fulfill, in order to bring back a liquor business the taxes on which they thought would relieve them of their income taxes. One of them testified in a Congressional hearing that "a tax on beer would save one of my companies \$10,000,000 a year." By comparison with this, Judas Iscariot, who sold his Lord for thirty pieces of silver, was a mere unsophisticated novice and Benedict Arnold was a loyal patriot.

Of course, this dream was never realized. The promises they made to each other were as wild and as undependable as the promises they made to the public. Liquor profits, except to the manufacturers and dealers, are always wraith-like phantoms. The tax income promised for beer alone was \$1,000,000,000. It has never reached that for all alcoholic beverages, but let us take that figure for a round number—this the total on the income side. What about the debit side which is not so loudly advertised? The American people pay to the liquor dealers over \$4,000,000,000 a year for legal alcoholic beverages. Some authorities estimate that nearly as much is paid for illegal liquor. Let us be conservative and place the total at \$5,000,000,000. The liquor dealers collect revenues from their customers and leave society to care for the results. Society pays for the police, the jails, the prisons, the courts, the insane asylums, the hospitals, the accidents, and the alcoholic induced crime, reckoned by Dr. Pollock, mental hygiene statistician for New York State Department of Health, as at least \$5,000,000,000 more. Dr. Pollock further estimates a loss to the nation of the earning power or economic value of chronic alcoholics to be \$20,000,000,000 annually. These three items total \$30,000,000 avear of the nation's wealth. This amount is nearly the total cost of the last war to us, and is about half as much as we are spending yearly for this war. This is spent to collect \$1,000,000,000 in taxes — pretty expensive taxes, aren't they? This kind of financing reminds one of the man who paid two dollars for a hog, fed him ten dollars worth of corn, and sold him for five dollars. He made money on the hog but lost on the corn.

There are three other items worthy of notice. Bootlegging, which Repeal was to have killed, is still very much alive. Not long ago one government authority said that there were one hundred illegal distillers to every legal one. The government has licensed about a half million places to sell liquor and there are tens of thousands unlicensed. The federal expense for trying to curb bootlegging is far in excess of what it was during prohibition. Nevada, with one legal liquor dispensary for every 94 persons, is our most drunken state, consuming over 23.5 gallons of alcoholic beverages per person per year.

When sugar is being rationed and grain is wanted by a starving world, it is noteworthy to observe that in 1940, 2,000,000 tons of grain were used for alcoholic beverages, and over 4,000,000 gallons of molasses.

The third item, which has almost if not quite taken on the form of a scandal, is the liquor advertising offered to every magazine and newspaper which will accept it. For this the distillers and brewers spend at least \$25,000.000 yearly, considered generally as a polite form of bribe to stifle any opposition which an editorial policy might dictate. There are still prominent magazines and newspapers which have not been for sale.

The liquor traffic is one of our most serious financial problems. The amount spent directly for liquor yearly, \$5,000,000,000, is about twice as much as we spend for education of all kinds for all the people in the United States, including Alaska. If there had to be a choice made between national sobriety and national revenue, every patriot would choose the former, but happily they are both pulling in the same direction.

But what has this to do with the war? Very much, according to the Washington authorities. Every newspaper, every radio announcement, every poster and handbill, every civilian defense speaker emphasizes the need for money to win the war. We are even taking the pennies from the children in the kindergarten to buy stamps, but at the same time we are permitting a waste of \$30,000,000,000 a year, which contributes only to inefficiency and degeneration and destruction. Morale. President Roosevelt, in his message of May 27, 1941, used these words: "Defense today means more than fighting. It means morale, civilian as well as military." Is "Dutch courage" our ideal of morale for an American? Is a drunken man our pattern for army or civilian morale? Do we wish to repeat France's mistake, when Petain's only excuse for the collapse in French morale was that the soldiers were drunk? Hitler's youth are forbidden to drink; Japan, some time ago, decreased the manufacture of alcoholic beverages fifty per cent; Russia also has greatly decreased the manufacture and distribution of alcoholic beverages. On the other band, Germany is making alcohol available to the captive nations it wishes to destroy, as Japan is distributing opium among the Chinese. When we provide unlimited alcoholic beverages for our soldiers as well as for our civilians, and when drunken soldiers and drunken civilians are both common spectacles, doesn't it seem as though we had our wires crossed?

There are those who say, "A man should know when he's had enough." In reply there are two things to be said: in the first place, some people when they've had enough do not know anything; in the second place, when a man has had a drink he is not a good judge of when he's had enough, and the more drinks he has, the poorer is his judgment. This is one thing upon which we'll agree: the morale which comes out of a bottle is not the morale to put into a battle. No officer ever gave a wrong command because he remained sober.

Isn't the drinking of liquor a personal matter and shouldn't one decide for himself whether or not he shall drink? Ho! Ho! Isn't the buying of gasoline a personal matter and shouldn't one decide for himself bow much he shall get? Isn't it a personal matter whether or not one shall have sugar in his tea or coffee? Isn't it a personal matter whether or not be shall light his home when he wants to? There are no personal matters these days, but drinking has never been one. A.matter which is responsible for crime, poverty, insanity, accidents to others, shattered homes, hungry children, disrupted morals, and countless other kinds of social degeneration, can never be a mere personal matter, and sane people can hardly make such a claim.

If to counterbalance its disastrous effects, alcohol could add one jot or tittle of courage, ability, skill or manhood, we might be willing to sacrifice in order to increase morale, but unfortunately all the results are on one side of the ledger, and the effect on morale is destructive and annihilating. A sober nation with the morale born of clear thinking, determination and courage, can eventually defeat Hitler and the Japs, but a drunken nation will travel through the Slough of Despond to inevitable danger of defeat. Hitler or Yamashita is not our greatest menace; if we can defeat the enemy within our gates we can look after either or both of them.

If we were not at war, the church of Jesus Christ would not remain complacent when the health, the wealth, the morale, the morals, and the religious life of people are in jeopardy. At the mercy of every bottle of liquor are human values of which the church is supposed to be the guardian. Are we no longer interested in these? Have we abdicated as the heralds of salvation and joined the forces of destruction? For just what do you as a member of a Baptist church stand, anyway?

The boozc advertisers are now picturing John Barleycorn in a dress suit, and you are too dumb to see that under his guise he's the same old fellow. The liquor interests have finally made drinking fashionable and, of course, you must be fashionable. Mrs. Jones serves cocktails, then you must; and when you, a church member, follow her, Mrs. Jones laughs at you. The liquor people try to make you think that it is bad taste for church people to say anything against liquor — it just isn't done, you know. If the minister should mention it from the pulpit, he'd no longer be welcome at the Club. Let us quit making excuses for being dry, we've nothing to apologize for — throw the wets on the defensive where they belong. Being a dry is the thing of which I'm most proud, and when I associate with drys I am associating with people who are willing to sacrific much for the good of the community and the country.

But we are at war! We are facing not only a moral emergency but a national one as well. Let us act grown up and reasonable and insist that the nation shall do the same. The District of Columbia drinks four times as much spirits per person as the nation as a whole and more than any other state or territory. Sometimes I have suspected that. Is it not about time that we let our Congressmen know that if that is what Congress stands for, that is not what the nation as a whole stands for, and not what the members of the Baptist Churches stand for. Let us insist that the military camps be cleaned up and the authority of the Army and Navy be used to clean up adjacent territory; let us insist that we go all out for this war and that the liquor interests be no longer the pet of the President and Congress of the United States. Let us insist that our representatives represent us and not the liquor interests, and that government control of liquor means the control of the liquor interests by Congress and not the control of Congress by the liquor interests.

Baptists have always been patriotic and loyal we still are. We say to the President and Congress that we will give our money, we will give our time, we will give our thought, we will make every sacrifice; we will give our sons and we will give ourselves in order that this war may be fought to a successful conclusion. But we insist that when our sons go into camp, these camps be no longer recruiting centers for beer interests and liquor dealers, but that they be clean and wholesome, in order that our boys may give their best to their country; and, if in the providence of God they are called to fill a hero's grave, that they may go down to that end with a clean breath and a clear head as befits the men fighting in a righteous cause for a self-respecting nation.

Copies on request

ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF NEW YORK 44 Howard Street Albany, New York

# ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF KELTHOKY 305 McDOWELL BUILLING, 3rd & WALNUT STS. LOUISVILLE, KY.

"We recommend that the Granges throughout the land join with other organizations in a campaign of education, calling attention to the evils of strong drink, and emphasizing the truth that decency and sobriety are virtues that bring their own reward. We urge that the sale of intoxicating beverages, with all its demoralizing influences, be strictly forbidden in the vicinity of military training camps. Since we are confronted with many serious shortages of material and labor, we urge the use of strict priorities in dealing with the manufacture of liquors."

Year	CONSUMPTION MILK IN CITIES AND VIN Total, gal. Per	LLAGES	ALL DAIRY F Production <u>millior</u> 1b	Consump.	BÚTTER Consump. per cap. lbs.	CHEESE Consump. per cap. lbs.
1923	3,123,950,000	38.0				
1924	3,253,660,000	38.6				
1925	3,344,198,000	38.9				
1726 1727	3,437,092,000 3,519,9 <b>7</b> 3,000	39.3 39.7				
1928	3,611,943,000	39.8				
1929.	3,738,549,000	40.8	•			
1930	3,728,651,000	40.1		٩		
1931	3,651,496,000	39.0	102,858	<sup>840</sup>	18.1	4.5
1732	3,669,971,000	39.1	103,777	835 0 0	18.2	4.4
1933	3,637,325,000	38.6	104,710	817	17.9	4.5
1934	3,431,810,000	36.1	101,666	817 806	18.3 17.3	4.8
1935	3,553,942,000	37.0 38.2	101,561 102,407	796	16.7	5.4
1936 1937	3,703,280,000 3,755,581,000	38.4	102,407	802	16.7	5.5
1938	3,768,372,000	38.2	105,563	798	16.9	5.8
1434	3,843,780,000	38.7	106,649	830	17.8	5.9
1940	3,895,000,000	38.1	109,292	826	17.1	6.0
1941	4,058,000,000	39.2	115,113	825	16.6	5.7
40						-
35-			\			
	Per capita consumption cities and vill					
36		Lages, gall	0115, 172, -1	741		
I						
1.						
14						
12						
					·	
10						
1.8						
				/ Pa	r capita cor	sumption of
6						rages, gallons,
-					33 - 1941	W1.00 21 2.0 10.1 AU
4						
	;	-		17-1		
2						
123 1	24 25 26 27	128 129 13	0 131 132	133 134 1	35 136 137	138. 139 140 141
from the for some	a second and a second				this and the second this	

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA RESEARCH SERVICE

	· L-42-11
Laura Lindley, Research Secretary	
Laura Dinardy, nesearch Decretary	t - ol io
	5-26-42
131 B St. S.E., Washington, D.C.	1

. .

# THE MILK BOTTLE BATTLES FOR HEALTH

"The object of this war is to make sure that everybody in the world has the privilege of drinking a quart of milk a day," said Vice President Wallace, half in fun, and half seriously, to Madame Litvinov. She replied, "Yes; even half a pint." "The peace," again quoting the Vice President, "must mean a better standard of living for the common man, not merely in the United States and England, but also in India, Russia, China, and Latin America - not merely in the United Nations, but also in Germany and Italy and Japan." (Cong. Record, 5-11-42, p. A1824)

Production and consumption of dairy products has been stressed in the United States, and 1941 showed an increase in consumption of milk and cream in cities and villages over 1940. However, the per capita consumption of butter, cheese, and all dury products combined in the entire country showed a decline. (See table) The <u>cash farm income</u> from milk, cream, and home-made butter amounted to \$1,896,837,000 in 1941, surpassing the previous high in 1929 and the 1940 figure, due to the recordbreaking volume of milk and milk products sold from farms and the highest average level of prices since 1930. In addition, milk utilized for dairy products consumed on farms was valued at \$401,843,000, according to the Agricultural Department.

"The ugly fact," said Sen. Bilbo, "is that we do have nearly 10,000,000 people who are inadequately fed... In my own state there are people trying to get by with food expenditures of less than  $2\frac{1}{2}$  cents per person per meal... Even in the more prosperous northern cities there are millions who are trying to get by today on 5 cents a person per meal." Sen. LaFollette said, "General hershey, Director of the Selective Service, has pointed out that perhaps 1/3 of the men who were originally rejected by the Selective Service were rejected because of defects directly or indirectly due to nutritional deficiency." (Cong. Record, 5-20-42, p. 4544)

The U. S. Public Health Service urges the use of milk because (a) it is a natural food, (b) it is a cheap source of energy, (c) it is a good muscle builder, (d) it is a good tooth and bone builder, (e) it is a highly concentrated food, (f) it is an excellent source of vitamins A and G, and (g) it is highly digestible.

Dairy products are being purchased by the Department of Agriculture for domestic distribution to public aid families, for free school lunches, to meet requirements of the Red Cross, for shipment in car-load lots to the United Nations under the lendlease program, or for stabilization reserves.

American ships carry dairy products and other food to our allies in other lands - and in return some of them send us whisky, 8,373,817 gallons of imported spirits during the first ten months of the 1942 fiscal year. A Bad Deal!

"Every bottle has won a battle to get here," boast the distillers in their advertisements. American ships in peril from submarines have brought to this country liquors that lessen efficiency, cause accidents, remove inhibitions and loosen tongues to aid enemy Fifth Columnists, collaborate with vice, aid in producing crime, physical and mental disease, and waste large sums which should be used to buy wholesome food.

The attitude of farmers and dairymen in general on the liquor question is reflected in the plank adopted by the National Grange at its 75th annual session in Worcester, Mass., recently: (Cong. Record, 5-15-42, p. 4364)

# (Not printed at Government expense)



of America

# Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE  $77^{tb}$  congress, second session

Booze Back in Honolulu

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

# HON. U. S. GUYER

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

#### Thursday, May 7, 1942

Mr. GUYER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include editorials written by Dr. Clinton N. Howard for the April and May 1942 issues of Progress, the official organ of the International Reform Federation, discussing various features of current events.

#### The editorials are as follows:

BOOZE BACK IN HONOLULU

Booze, the cause of the most disastrous defeat in World War II, in the judgment of many, due to a combination of causes defined by Government officials as "lack of alertness," has returned—to use a figure of speech employed by St. Peter—"like a dog to his vomit, a sow that was washed in her wallowing in the mire."

When the surprise major blow was struck by the Japanese upon our Pearl Harbor defenses on December 7, the first precaution taken was to close the saloons, with penalties so severe as to result in a complete black-out of liquor under military prohibition. The "noble experiment" lasted sufficiently

The "noble experiment" lasted sufficiently long to give to the country an example of what might be expected if that policy became permanent and continental in reducing crime and deaths from traffic accidents, the two greatest calamities of modern civilization, crime and loss of life on the highways.

Testimony from an unprejudiced source has begun to come from the seat of the late military and naval disaster, which for some reason the administration has sought to minimize from the beginning, doubtless from the patriotic motive of avoiding "aid and comfort to the enemy."

#### BLESSINGS OF PROHIBITION

A dispatch direct from Honolulu by the New York Times correspondent, March 8, 1942, says, "The sale of liquor has been banned by the military governor. This time no one can say that prohibition was put over by a temperance league. \* \* With strict enforcement, and no liquor, crime and accidents have almost disappeared."

John O'Donnell can safely qualify as a wet witness in a two-column article in the Washington Times-Herald, March 9, 1942. He thinks that "the ardent drys can find scant comfort for their cause in the highly efficient and rigid prohibition imposed by necessity upon Hawaii," but, he continues, "there was no doubt that Army prohibition was the dryest prohibition in the history of the Nation. The bootlegger vanished after the first week and crime was cut in half.

460425-22071

Traffic accidents in the month after Pearl Harbor dropped one-third. This figure in turn was cut in half in the next 4 weeks."

Mr. O'Donnell believes this would be calamitous if the same policy were imposed throughout the United States. He writes, "If this were done, there, as here in Hawaii, Scotch would soar in price to \$25 per quart, and become the guarded treasure in the cellars of the fortunate few."

Mr. O'Donnell states that the object of military prohibition after Japanese victory "was a military necessity imposed because of the danger of race riots and sabotage arising out of Hawail's mixed multitude," and "that the main objective was accomplished."

In connection with the report is a doublecolumn photograph of the interior of a Honolulu saloon crowded with civilians and men in uniform titled "Soldiers and sailors line a Honolulu bar after a brief period of prohibition following the attack upon Pearl Harbor." The article concludes: "What was feared was that some husky laborers with a few drinks under their belts,

"What was feared was that some husky laborers with a few drinks under their belts, would get the idea they should start a private war against every individual with an Asiatic cast of face," the authorities explained. "If that once started, the fat would really be in the fire. Complete suppression of liquor cut down that danger when the situation was at its worst." It seems, therefore, that the only calamity imposed upon the perilous situation, following the Japanese attack, was the tragic increase in the price of whisky. Of course, if the Japs come again, and get away with it, in Honolulu or the United States, prepare for the worst—prohibition. Why not come to it before the calamity occurs? It may prevent its coming.

#### DRY WITNESSES CONFIRM

The testimony of the press correspondents are confirmed by witnesses on the ground. Theodore Richards, a man of high standing and unimpeachable integrity, writing to the American Business Men's Research Foundation, Chicago, says, "In my 52 years in the islands, I am amazed to see the effect on public life of the successful operation of real prohibition enforced by the Army of the United States. \* \* \*

"The effect on police-court records and general absence of lawlessness plus a remarkable traffic safety is fairly astonishing to an old resident as I am. \* \* \*

"It needs to be said only that liquor forces with a very considerable sum of money invested, now lying idle, have made strenuous efforts to have the ban removed, and there has been a very healthy reaction on the part of churches and citizens commending the action of the lieutenant general, and basing their approval not so directly on temperance principles, but as a matter of safety in the prevention of inevitable race antagonisms, which would be greatly stimulated if our old time flow of liquor were again permitted."

#### AN AMERICAN TRAITOR

What will happen if they succeed is told by Bill Cunningham, the correspondent of the Boston Herald, of what did happen prior

to the Jap raid of Sunday, December 7. As a little side light, he writes: "According to my informant, a one-time

"According to my informant, a one-time soldier in the islands accepted a discharge many years ago and set up a bar near the military reservation. Through the years this bar has become a famous and profitable establishment. The man has become a millionaire and a person of influence in the islands, invited around to all the better homes and to all the better parties. \* \* \* Being of an ingratiating personality, he's on the best of terms with everybody, and since high society out there has plenty of Army and Navy in it, he has been sitting around with our top-ranking officers on chummy terms for years listening to all they had to say. Well, according to this report, the night after the attack, authorities breaking into his place caught him red-handed in the act of communicating with the Japanese fleet by means of a powerful short-wave radio. Two Japanese operators were crouching there with him and they were sending messages at top speed when the officers crashed in and klcked the radio sets loose.

"Instead of blowing this Charley's brains out on the spot, they merely placed him under arrest, and, at last reports, he was out on bail freely walking around." This doesn't even begin to scratch the surface of the tale **I** was told. It was one of too many coincidences of broken faith and shaken morale. But there's no court martial. Instead there are \$6,000 pensions for Lt. Gen. Walter C. Short and Admiral Husband E. Kimmel, the highranking officers held responsible for the disaster, whose trial is deferred "'til the war is over." This incident, if discovered, was omitted from the Roberts report.

#### WHY BOOZE CAME BACK

And while the higher-ups are dismissed with a pension, the ban on booze is lifted and liquor comes back again.

Commenting on the reason why, the American Business Men's Research Foundation, Chicago, issues a five-page statement which has just come to our office, from which we quote:

"Who or what has brought back liquor to Honolulu and the Hawaiian Islands despite the fact that General Emmons, as recently as January 9, 1942, is quoted as saying that "Nobody really and seriously wants liquor sold again,' adding, 'and I do not think there is going to be any change.' Why was there any change and a return to rum with the emergency still on, and another surprise visit from Japan threatened?"

Reports show that Hawaii, under 100-percent ban on liquor selling, has had the remarkable experience of a crime record practically "down to nothing," to use the descriptive phrase of Police Chief T. A. Gabrielson (December 30, 1941) to the Chicago Daily News that "This time prohibition really works."

The benefits of the liquorless program were so evident to the public, continues the research report, that, at an important meeting of civic leaders in Honolulu January 14, 1942,

enthusiastic approval of the government's action was voted, because of what the meeting dcclares to be the "amazing results of freedom from lawbreaking since placing the ban against the sale of liquor.'

#### MILITARY TESTIMONY

On January 8, Genéral Emmons, in a press conference at Fort Shafter, according to the Honolulu Advertiser, January 9, 1942, said: "General Short did a very fine thing in deciaring Honolulu dry," and gave reasons why the Army considers it unwise to slake Honolulu's five weeks' thirst now. "The labor leaders don't want liquor sold," he said. "The ministers don't want it, the working-men don't want it. All the Army admit the present rule is good." In short, the general said he found, "that nobody really seriously wanted leaver beels accit". wanted liquor back again."

The reason why will doubtless be sealed as were 4.178 typewritten pages of the records and documents examined of the Roberts Report, and only 21 pages of the report published, doubtless to prevent giving aid and comfort to the enemy, which reason covers a multitude of sins.

#### RUM REVENUE REQUIRED

Another reason may possibly be the neea of revenue to help repair the immense damage done by the Jap attack, of which the President does not intend the hit-and-run bombers shall know. Of the 493 liquor licenses in Honolulu, according to the records of the Liquor Commission, 55 percent are Japanese, 23, Caucasian, 15 Chinese, 6 Hawaiian, and others.

The number of arrests reported by the police as complaint, were 17,515; total arrests for drunkenness, which in uniform mean when the soldier or sailor is in a recumbent position. including arrests for disorderly conduct and driving while intoxicated, 7,368 for the year 1940, to which the police chief adds, "It is obvious that all drunkards or drunks are not arrested.'

#### LOSS AND GAIN ACCOUN

The cost of operating the police department, not including maintenance and related charities, is \$684,400.90. The total expenditure for liquor, estimatea on the basis of tax receipts of liquor withdrawn for con-sumption, not including bootleg consumption, \$16,600,588; the revenue derived therefrom, \$375,337. This represents a deficit between cost and income of \$16,225,261. Study

460425-22071

these figures, compiled by the American Business Men's Research Foundation, 111 North Jackson, Chicago, and you will see the nced of restoring the liquor traffic in Honolulu at whatever cost in the past and in the future. It is the devil's joke. Thus the curtain falls upon one of the darkest chapters in American history,

This is not an attack upon the administra-tion for selling us down the river to Japan, or for the lack of alertness when Japan car-ried out its threat to strike "in case," but it is an argument in defense of prohibitioneven in the hands of its enemies, and in an emergency, as well as after an emergency.

#### UNCLE SAM-LAW BREAKER

Campaign speeches bristle with encomiums to our system of 48 sovereign States within a Federal Union, "One and in-sep-par-a-ble," as Daniel Webster pronounced it at Bunker Those sovereign States enjoy the right Hill. of self-government in ali matters of State policy, not inconsistent with the welfare and life of the Union.

The wets have always made the most of this doctrine in their opposition to national prohibition. With them it was always an argument that each State shall be allowed to decide these issues which relate to their police power for themselves. When a fight is brought on to dry up a State the wets reduce the area to the county, and oppose the imposition of prohibition by counties upon the populous cities.

Long before the adoption of the eighteenth amendment there were large areas in the States, particularly in the South, which had voted out the liquor traffic under county local option. In Texas, for example, there were 200 out of 252 that had voted out the saloon, and only 10 counties that were entirely wet.

In addition to that the legislature had passed the 10-mile law in 1918, "prohibiting the sale of liquor by any person in the State of Texas within 10 miles of any Army camp where soldiers of the United States Army or Marines are being trained for military services in time of war."

Now that the eighteenth amendment has been repealed, Texas has gone back to its county loca!-option policy in harmony with the good old Democratic doctrine of local selfgovernment, and vast areas have again been voted dry, as in Kentucky and other Southern States. Now along comes the United States Government and cstablishes military training camps in these dry areas, and set up its post-exchange saloon in violation of the laws of Texas, and the local self-government of the counties which have driven the liquor traffic from the communities wherein the Government have located their training camps.

Not only so, but the always law-defying liquor traffic have set up their dens of vice, with liquor and prostitution in territory around the camps, and made the county seats a modern Sodom and Gomorrah of sin and debauchery. We told the horrible story in the March and April number of Progress. All over the South this situation prevails.

While wo are fighting a world war for democracy, and the right of small nations to make their own laws and rule themselves free from foreign dictation, as in Norway, Holland, Belgium, and other countries, smaller than the dry areas of States in the Union, Uncle Sam moves in with his training camp and sets up his liquor outlets within the camp and allows the organized vice syndicates outside the camps and county seats, to flourish in violation of State laws and local sovereignty.

Some of these localities have indignantly protested this "foreign" invasion and appealed to their State authorities for protection. Now comes the attorney general of Texas with a decision that must make Hitler laugh, if he knows it. We quote: "The State has no power nor jurisdiction to regulate in any manner or prohibit under its laws the sale of 3.2 beer in a dry area such as Camp Bowie, where the sale of same has been authorized in such area by the proper authority in the War Department in the interest of promoting the general welfare, morale, and safety of its armed forces." Then what are we fighting for? To make the world safe for the liquor traffic? Since when has the sale of alcoholic liquor of any alcoholic content been permitted in violation of the will of the people of any dry area "in the interest of promoting the general welfare, morale, and safety of the armed forces"? This is another reason why "prohibition is coming back."

The people of Texas have as good right to tell Uncle Sam to get out of Texas as Uncle Sam has to tell Japan to get out of China or Hitler to get out of Holland.

2

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA RESEARCH SERVICE

Laura Lindley, Research Secretary	L-42-9
badia bindley, nesearch Secretary	
131 B St. S.E., Washington, D.C.	5-2-42
TJI D SU. S.E., Washington, D.U.	)-2-42

THE COMBAT AGAINST ALCOHOLISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

"The struggle waged against alcoholism in the Soviet Union follows two lines, that of prevention of alcoholism, and the organization of in-patient and outpatient hospital treatment of alcoholics. These measures have resulted in a general decrease in ailments caused by alcohol," says a statement received ly the Research Department of the Anti-Saloon League from the Russian Embassy at Washington, D.C. The following table, relating to Moscow, shows how the number of alcoholic diseases has diminished between 1926 and 1936:

Alcoholic psychosis :YEARSAilments per 10,000 :1926; 1930; 1931; 1932; 1933; 1934; 1935; 1936.population :1.31.31.81.31.21.01.11.20.9

In 1923-24, special narcotic dispensaries were organized, and in 1932, united with the district neuro-psychiatric clinics. Out-patient assistance is administered by specialists in narcology. The preventive measures undertaken by these doctors include talks, lectures and explanations. It is likewise their duty to ascertain the centres of alcoholism in their district, establish all the factors connected with the increase in consumption of alcoholic drinks, note cases of illness assising from alcohol, the death rate, accidents, truancy from work, etc., caused by this.

Members of the Red Cross Society are drawn into this anti-alcoholic work; the trades unions likewise cooperate. The district narcologist maintains close contact with the medical aid stations at enterprises and with physicians of other specialties who mutually advise each other of all cases of alcoholism. All alcoholic patients are registered, with a record of their psycho-physical state of health and a description of the condition in which the patients live.

Special narcotic receiving clinics render in-patient assistance in cases of acute alcohol toxication, keeping them until they have sobered down, and also render assistance to alcoholic cases requiring a short period of in-patient treatment. These "sobering stations" as they are called, prevent complications after heavy alcoholic toxication, death, and all kinds of accidents, possible disturbances of the peace, illnesses from exposure, and the like.

"Patients obdurate to treatment in hospitals or clinics are placed in closed neuropsychiatric medical establishments where alcoholic psychosis patients, chronic alcoholics, dipsomaniacs and kindred cases are kept. These establishments are staffed with highly skilled specialists who, in addition to active methods of treatment (oxygenotherapy, strychnine, gravidan, insulin and other medicines) likewise apply psychotherapeutics, hypnosis, re-educating the patients, and also various suitable occupations, hobbies and cultural measures. These hospitals have physiotherapeutic departments, hydrotherapeutic equipment, and also biochemical clinical and psycho-physiological laboratories... These hospitals likewise engage in research work in this sphere...

"There are also special establishments for the treatment of alcoholics. More than 43% of the patients under treatment are completely cured; 30% abstain from a\_coholic drinks for a long period of time, while the remainder are not susceptible to treatment. But for the latter group ... and for those stubborn to treatment, there are special vocational colonies. Alcoholics who constitute a public menace are subjected to compulsory treatment... "A large network of libraries, clubs, theatres, cinemas, cottage-libraries, parks of culture and rest, sports, amateur arts and other circles, and Palaces of Culture give the working people wide opportunities to enjoy their ample leisure time in a far more cultured manner than in a saloon or beer garden as was the case in tsarist Russia.

"Considerable attention is likewise devoted in the U.S.S.R. to the antialcoholic education of the growing youth and to anti-alcoholic propaganda amongst adults. Radio, clubs, lectures, and popular literature published serve for this purpose... As a result of the cultural growth of the peoples of the Soviet Union, the consumption of alcoholic drinks has dropped considerably during the last few years."

COCKTAIL "Cocktail saboteur is the only name that fits the drinking driver to-SABOTEURS! "Said Don F. Stiver, chairman of the National Safety Council's Committee on Tests for Intoxication, and Indiana State Police Super-

intendent. "At a time when the nation is being geared to prevent the waste of every human and material resource, the motorist who drives while under the influence of liquor is coming pretty close to treason."

A Council survey of 22 states showed an increase of 27% in fatal traffic accidents by drinking drivers during 1941. Fatal traffic accidents from all causes rose only 17%. (Christian Science Monitor, May 9, 1942)

CALIFORNIA DRUNK-DRIVER ACCIDENTS This is an aspect of the war situation, says the Dept. of Motor Vehicles. High wages have given laborers the opportunity to indulge them-

selves, and the fact that many defense manufacturing plants are located in areas remote from population centers where amusement attractions and other types of entertainment are not available, has some bearing on this situation. Quite a few of the drunk drivers are defense workers doing essential war work. The judges, it is said, are reluctant to send such violators to jail for fear of slowing down war production objectives. "Cocktail saboteurs - waste - pretty close to treason!"

The following table pictures the high points in the current California traffic accident problem for the first quarter of 1942 compared with the same time in 1941:

Motor	vehicle	accidents	involving	death	or injury	10,539 -	decrease	8.3%	over	1941
	11		<u> </u>			(0) -	TINOICDICOD	<b>~~</b> ,~		
11	11	injuries				14,487 -	decrease	9.210		1941

OHIO TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS DUE TO DRINK DUE TO DRINK DUE 28,890 drivers involved, 2,865, or 9.9%, had been drinking or

were obviously drunk. They caused 10.8% of the fatal and 11.3% of the non-fatal accidents. Of the pedestrians involved, 99, or 19.1%, had been drinking or were obviously drunk. They suffered 24.3% of the fatal and 17% of the non-fatal accidents.

During the first quarter of 1942, 632 drivers, or 10.9% of the total involved in accidents, had been drinking or were obviously drunk. They caused 15.6% of the fatal and 13.4% of the non-fatal accidents. Of the pedestrians, 24, or 24.2%, had been drinking or were obviously drunk. They suffered 28.6% of the fatal and 22.5% of the non-fatal accidents. It will be observed that in each instance the percentage of injury or death caused by alcohol was higher in the first quarter of 1942 than for the year 1941.

AMERICA'S WRECKORD During 1941, says Travelers Ins. Co., 40,000 Americans were killed in traffic and almost 1,500,000 injured. "It's up to you in '42" to lower this "wreckord."

### THE VOLUME OF ALCOHOL-CRIME IN CONNECTICUT

"Intoxication is the most common crime in the State of Connecticut," says the report of the Committee on Vagrancy and Alcoholism appointed by the Conn. Prison Assn. on Oct. 20, 1941, to study the extent of criminal drunkenness and prepare necessary legislation effecting a solution for presentation to the 1943 Legislature.

"In the City of Hartford alone," states the Committee, "there were 10,602 arrests for drunkenness in the year 1941. There were 15,039 commitments to our county jails in the year 1940-1941, 8,353 (55.5%) of these commitments being for drunkenness... Our present handling of the 'common drunk' is expensive, wasteful and unscientific. The average cost per inmate per day in our county jails is 82¢. The average sentence is 15 days or a total of \$12.30 per sentence. With 8,353 commitments, the state expended approximately \$103,742.90 last year for keeping those sentenced for intoxication in jail.

"Your Committee was interested also in finding the <u>relationship of drunk-</u> enness to other crimes... The usual procedure in our criminal courts is to merge a minor or petty offense into the more serious crime. Consequently we studied every case presented before the Hartford Police Court for a period of three months from Nov. 15, 1941 to Feb. 16, 1942... 1,944 cases (73.6%)out of a total of 2,640 cases before the Hartford Police Court for that period <u>directly or indirectly involved</u> alcohol."

### ARRESTS FOR INTOXICATION

Two 6-year periods were compared, periods centering in a World War, from (1) 6 defense industrial centers; (2) 14 other citius; (3) state police records, which gave the following figures: (1941 figures incomplete in some cases)

		1916-1921	1936-1941	
l.	6 Defense Indus. Centers	66,582	101,045	51% increase
2.	14 Other Cities	10,770	14,775	37% increase
3.	State Police	24	1,460	5,400% increase
	Grand total	77,376	117,280	52% increase

# COMMITMENTS FOR ALCOHOLISM TO COUNTY JAILS

The Returns of the County Commissioners on commitments to the ten jails in the eight counties of Connecticut for the 5-year period 1917-1921 show a high rate for "common drunkard" and "drunkard" at the beginning and a very considerable drop at the close. The second 5-year period, 1937-1941, shows, in general, an increase, with very high figures in 1941.

				% due to
Year end. 9-30	Common drunkard	Drunkard	All commitments	alcohol
1917	160	7,314	15,553	48.0
1918	54	4,587	12,381	37.5
1919	28	2,677	7,941	34.1
1920 .	14	943	4,451	21.5
1921	14	1,557	5,845	26.8
1737	64	4,432	12,124	37.1
1938	. 47	4,085	11,897	34.7
1939	54	4,334	11,516	38.1
1940	95 -	5,076	12,622	40.9
1941	160	8,193	15,039	55.4

The Committee on Vagrancy and Alcoholism concludes its report "in the hope that citizens of this commonwealth may be convinced by statistics that the volume of alcohol-crime in Connecticut is considerable, and is rapidly becoming an acute problem straining the facilities of the police, courts, and jails to the uttermost and imposing a heavy financial burden upon the taxpayers." THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA RESEARCH SERVICE

Laura Lindley, Research Secretary	L-42-8
131 B St. S.E., Washington, D.C.	5-1-42

JUDGE ZOTTOLI REPORTS ON CRIME IN MASSACHUSETTS

Hon. Joseph T. Zottoli, associate justice of the Boston Municipal Court, has prepared about 300 charts on crime in Massachusetts, covering the yearly arrests, commitments, and prison population of all the jails, houses of correction, reformatories and the state's prison from the time of their creation to 1940.

Judge Zottoli says in a letter to the Research Department of the Anti-Saloon League, "Some (of the charts) run from 1862 to 1940 inclusive, and cover periods when our Commonwealth tried everything that the ingenuity of man could contrive to stamp out drunkenness. As Massachusetts had prohibition in 1862, the charts run from the prohibition era of this date through the prohibition era of 1919 and from then on to 1940. THE MOST SOBER PERIODS OF OUR COMMONTEALTH WERE DURING THE PROHI-BITION PERIODS. Prison population in 1920 reached the lowest level of all the periods between 1860 and 1940."

The information contained in the charts is presented in condensed form in the table below, which compares the year 1917, before national prohibition, with 1920, the first year of national prohibition, and 1933, the first year of repeal, and the preceding and subsequent periods in some cases.

Prison commitments	1917	1920	1933	Subsequent period
Class I, offenses	1 010	201	1 010	
against the person . Class II, offenses	1,048	391	1,213	
against property	2,304	1,033	2,733	Up to 3,251 in 1934, and
Class III, offenses		,		about 2,500 yearly since.
against public order	18,444	2,964	13,848	Around 15,000 yearly since.
Commitments to all prisons	·			
as a whole, average for 22				
years before 1917 - 28,000 (in round numbers)		1 200	10 000	-Average from 1933 to date -
Pris n population		4,397	10,000-	round numbers.
Av. of all jails & houses				Tound Humbers.
of correction 24 years				
before 1917 - 3,600		1,016	2,700-	-Yearly average since 1933.
Av. of all Mass. prisons,		,		
24 years before 1917,				
about 6,800	6,145	2,499		Between 6,800 and 6,900
Total arrests for all crimes				since 1933.
before Dist. & Municipal				
courts of Massachusetts	206,517	115,324		201,027 in 1940
Arrests for drunkenness	1,29,445	37,160	98,000-	-Yearly average since 1933.
Commitments for drunkenness				
20 years before 1917,	15 /12	1,746	11 000	-Average number since 1933.
average 20,000	1),412	1,140	1.1,000-	-Average number Stude 1933.

In presenting these irrefutable official data, Judge Zottoli has rendered a distinct public service. After his study of the record he concludes that they "clearly show that Liquor and especially the saloon should be outlawed." THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA RESEARCH SERVICE

	L-42-12
Laura Lindley, Research Secretary	7-7-42
131 B St. S.E., Washington, D.C.	1-1-42

# ALCOHOL, ACCIDENTS, AND LOST MAN POWER

1 OUT OF EVERY 5 FATAL TRAFFIC ACCIDENTS DURING 1941 was due to a driver or a ped- estrian who had been drinking, says the National Safety Council, in its 1941
edition of Accident Facts. 11% OF THE DRIVERS INVOLVED IN FATAL ACCIDENTS HAD BEEN DRINKING. They were involv-
14% OF THE PEDESTRIANS INVOLVED IN FATAL ACCIDENTS HAD BEEN DRINKING, or 1 of every 6 adult pedestrians (16.6%). This is equivalent to 1,900 of the 13,600 ped-
<ul> <li>estrian deaths.</li> <li>27% MORE DRINKING DRIVERS WERE REPORTED IN 1941 SUMMARIES from 22 states as involved in fatal accidents, while the number of non-drinking drivers was up 17%.</li> <li>1 OUT OF EVERY 3 FATAL ACCIDENTS OCCURRING AT NIGHT INVOLVE A DRINKING DRIVER OR PEDESTRIAN. New Jersey experience shows that while half of all motor vehicle accidents occur between 6 at night and 6 in the morning, these same 12 hours account for 3/4ths of the drinking-driver and driver-asleep accidents.</li> </ul>
<ul> <li>102,500 ACCIDENTAL DEATHS IN 1941, of which 40,000 were due to motor vehicles.</li> <li>9,400,000 INJURIES IN 1941, of which 1,450,000 were due to motor vehicles.</li> <li>\$4,000,000,000 IS THE CALCULABLE COST OF ACCIDENTS IN 1941. During the same year the estimated expenditure for alcoholic beverages was \$4,500,000,000.</li> <li>\$1,900,000,000 IS THE AMOUNT OF CERTAIN DIRECT COSTS OF MOTOR ACCIDENTS IN 1941, half for property damage, and half for estimated wage loss, medical expenses,</li> </ul>
and overhead cost of insurance. NO OFFICIAL ESTIMATE HAS BEEN MADE OF THE NUMBER OF ACCIDENTAL DEATHS AND INJURIES in industry, in the home, etc., due to alcohol, or their cost.
ONLY 4 DISEASES KILL MORE THAN ACCIDENTS. MOST ACCIDENTS COULD HAVE BEEN PREVENTED! Ages 1 to 4 - Accidents most important cause of death. Pneumonia second, diarrhea and enteritis third.
Ages 5 to 9 - Accidents most important cause of death - 4 times as many as appendicities and pneumonia, the next causes.
Ages 10 to 14 - Almost 3 times as many deaths from accidents as from the
Ages 15 to 19 - Accident deaths most numerous. Tuberculosis second, only
All ages - Accidents rank 5th as cause of death. Heart disease, cancer, cerebral hemorrhage, and nephritis in that order precede. In males accidents rank 3rd, and in females 6th as cause of death.
<ul> <li>200,000 SOLDIERS, SAILORS or MARINES could have been supplied with war equipment produced in the time lost through accidents in 1941.</li> <li>460,000,000 MAN-DAYS WAS THE LOSS AT 1941 ACCIDENT RATES! It was the labor equivalent of 1,500,000 workers. And we need at least 7<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> workers in war and necessary civilian production for every man in the fight. They could have produced for American defense and United Nations victory - 20 more EATTLESHIPS</li> <li>1,000 more DESTROYERS</li> </ul>

- 9,000 more BUMBERS
- 40,000 more TANKS
- THE "TOTAL PHYSICAL AND MORAL FITNESS" called for by the President can be aided by abstinence from alcoholic beverages during the war - and after, says the Anti-Saloon League. (Over)

# ABSTINENCE FOR MOTORISTS IN SWEDEN

A swedish insurance company founded in 1933, MOTORFORARNA, admits only abstaining drivers. It has just published figures on its operations from 1933 to 1937 which prove that abstinence among drivers contributes greatly to lowering the number and gravity of accidents. A comparison with other Swedish insurance companies is given below:

Year	No. accid. per 100		% Motorforarna	-		% Motorforarna
	insured v	rehicles	compared with	per yr. & ve		compared with
	All cos.	Motorforarna	other comp.	All cos. Mo	torf.	other comp.
1933		7.1	85.5%	32.5 crowns	29.0	89.2%
1934	8.2	5.4	65.9	36.9	24.4	66.1
1935	8.5	6.1	71.8	40.1	21.0	52.4
1936	9.4	6.5	70.2	47.1	23.5	49.9
1937	11.9	7.0	59.1	57.7	23.0	39.8
1933-7		6.5	67.7	46.3	26.4	43.0

The number of motor vehicles insured by Motorforarna rose from 1,259 in 1933 to 5,968 in 1939.

The Swedish Blue Book gives the 1940 consumption of alcoholic beverages as follows:

Distilled beverages at 50%	3.9 litre	es or 0.858 gal.	per ca
Wine	0.5	.11	
Ordinary beer	24.2	5.324	
Small beer (svagdricka)	15.5	3.41	
Total absolute alcohol,			
excluding small beer	2.9	,638	

ap.

The consumption of absolute alcohol was 3.5 litres (.77 gal.) in 1938 and 1939. The present decrease is probably due to the war and higher taxation.

Arrests for drunkenness in 1940 numbered 31,094, or 4.89 per 1,000 of the population. Actual sentences for drunkenness in the same year reached 26,265 for men (8.34 per 1,000) and 350 for women (0.11 per 1,000).

The number of ON-consumption licensed places, not including beer, numbered 570 in towns and 180 in rural communes in 1940. Only 1 of the 117 towns has refused license to sell spirits and wine, but most of the 2,406 rural communes have banished spirits and wine.

In 1940, 1,519,827 Swedes, including 165,728 women, 23.9% of the population, secured spirits-books permitting them to buy a fixed quantity each month for home consumption. The average quantity bought was 1.41 litres (.31 gal.) The expenditure for wine and spirits amounted to 307,500,000 crowns in 1940, an estimated 133,000,000 crowns for beer, and 18,000,000 crowns for small beer, a total of 458,500,000 crowns, or an average of 72 crowns for each of the 6,370,538 inhabitants. Taxes and duties on spirits and wine amounted to 235,110,345 crowns, and on beer to 39,236,662 crowns.

(R. Hercod, International Bureau Against Alcoholism, 11-24-41)

L-42-12

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF AMERICA RESEARCH SERVICE

		T 10 3 F
Laura Lindley, Research Secretary	24	L-42-15
• •		8-19-42
131 B St. S.E., Washington, D.C.		0-1/-4~

# ALCOHOL IN THE TRAINING CAMPS

2

Repeal Associates on August 11, 1942, issued a statement attempting to "allay the fears of many parents" that their sons in training camps "will there be surrounded by demoralizing influences that will wreck them morally and physically."

The "demoralizing influence" of alcoholic beverages has not changed, and the need for continued vigilance by the friends of temperance is shown by the following items from the press:

# "LIQUOR IS JUST AS BAD AS PROSTITUTION" .

An all-out war on vice was declared by Columbus, Ohio, officials the latter part of July, 1942, after Lt. Col. O. M. Baldinger, commandant of the Lockbourne Ai: Base told them, "Something's got to be done right now." He said the only solution is the revocation of D-1, 2 and 3 liquor permits and dance hall licenses in certain areas. "In our business of teaching young men to fly, <u>liquor is just as</u> bad as prostitution," he said.

# "LIQUOR AND PROSTITUTION FLOURISH SIDE BY SIDE" IN BALTIMORE

Maj. Gen. Milton A. Reckord, commanding general of the Third Corps Area, told 2,600 Baltimore Liquor dealers and tavern keepers on July 14, 1942, either to clean up their businesses or have them closed by the Army. Referring specifically to "the many liquor places in Baltimore and in the Third Corps Area where <u>liquor</u> and prostitution flourish side by side," General Keckord told the holders of beer, wine and liquor licenses that he would "see to it that these places are conducted as the law prescribes... We have facts in our headquarters which would open your eyes. They show the number of soldiers who are contracting venereal diseases in these Baltimore places... If it means closing your places to get man power physically fit on the front lines at the earliest possible moment, then we shall close them... We want no more prohibition. If we are to have no more of it you liquor dealers must conduct your business in the proper way."

# TAVERN AREA CLOSED TO FORT DIX SOLDIERS

Col. Cassius M. Dowell, commanding officer of Fort Dix, N. J., has ordered the tavern section of Pointville "off limits" for military personnel after an early morning dispute in which one soldier was killed. The Army has started condemnation proceedings to acquire the Pointville area, which contains ten new taverns.

# INTOXICATED SOLDIER KILLED

Six colored soldiers armed with machine guns, automatic rifles and pistols terrorized the business district of Flagstaff, Arizona, at about 3 a.m. on July 11, 1942, before one was killed and another wounded. They were apparently angered by redusal of admittance to an all-night cafe. Major H. C. Nichols, in command of Negro troops on guard duty there, said the soldier killed was intoxicated.

(0ver)

# GRAND JURY URGES CUT IN NUMBER OF CAFES NEAR FORT MEADE

The Grand Jury of Anne Arundel County, Maryland, recommended on May 7, 1742, that the number of establishments selling alcoholic beverages near Fort George G. Meade "be reduced by at least one-half." "The commanding officer at Fort Meade," the jury's report said, "stated that there were too many places devoted to the sale of alcoholic beverages in the immediate vicinity of the post and stated that they constituted a nuisance."

15 SALOONS AND CAFES CLOSED AFTER RIOT IN LOUISIANA

Following a riot in Alexandria, Louisiana, on Jan. 11, 1942, in which 30 persons were injured, including 28 colored soldiers, 1 woman and 1 State policeman, police and State troopers closed 15 saloons and cafes in a four-block area.

# WOMEN WILL FIGHT VICE IN CAMP AREAS

The General Federation of Women's Clubs is mobilizing its 2,500,000 members in a drive to clean up vice conditions which it finds rife around many Army and Navy Areas. Mrs. John L. Whitehurst, of Baltimore, president of the Federation, said, "Every place I go - and I've been in 28 states from coast to coast in recent months - women are concerned over the increase in prostitution, venereal disease, and drinking."

# "USUALLY ALCOHOL IS TO BLAME"

Commander Gene Tunney, U.S.N.R., former heavy-weight champion, writes in the August, 1942, Reader's Digest:

"The AEF of 1917 suffered 100,000 more casualties from venereal disease than from enemy bullets. Today, in the camps where American manpower is being mobilized, syphilis and gonorrhea again threaten to impair the efficiency of our armed forces... Sexual continence is the strongest weapon yet devised to combat venereal infection...

"Syphilis can shatter body and mind - causing ulcers of the flesh, ulcers of the bone, ruptured blood vessels, doddering paralysis and progressive insanity. Gonorrhea, the great crippler, attacks the joints, causing inflammation, arthritis, invalidism. The germs may be carried to the heart, inflaming the cardiac lining and bringing on heart trouble, collapse and death...

"The venereal rate among draftees was practically zero... Yet, within a year or so, 40 in every thousand had gonorrhea, and 11 had syphilis... The longer the interval between exposure and medication, the greater the risk of developing venereal disease... Men are taught this, yet some will put off the drab chore of medication. <u>Usually alcohol is to blame</u>. It casts a false glow over the senses and leads men to postpone prophylactic treatment until too late...

"Our fighting men can exempt themselves from the horrors of venereal disease, and increase the efficiency of our armed forces, if they will display the moral courage that underlies the practice of continence. Is this too much to ask in our national crisis? Ordinary athletes... realize the importance of continence if they are to keep at the peak of physical form. The average professional boxer, certainly no loftier in character than the average service man, practices continence. Not from exceptional idealism; he simply wants to win fights... Can our sailors and soldiers, as the <u>champions of democracy</u>, afford to indulge in sexual promiscuities scorned by most prize fighters?"

	- 10 11
Laura Lindley, Research Secretary	L-42-14
	A 3 F 10
131 B St. S.E., Washington, D.C.	7-15-42
1)1 B BU. D.B., Washington, D.C.	

THE ALCOHOL PHOBLEM, PAST AND PRESENT Quarterly Temperance Lesson, Sunday, September 6, 1942

IN ANCIENT TIMES

Egyptian tombs reveal the existence of drinking, and their oldest records mention libations to the gods. The Assyrians and Thracians brewed ale. Plato said, "No one while he is on a campaign should be allowed to taste wine at all." The U. S. Supreme Court quotes Tacitus, in his account of the customs of the ancient Germans, as using a liquor made from barley, and says, "That it was potent we learn from the same author, who tells us that the German warriors would deliberate upon and form their designs when sober,

and then get drunk, presumably on this barley wine, and carry their projects into effect." (Searls v. U. S., 152 U.S. 570)

Since the discovery of America and its colonization by Europeans, the IN AMERICAliquor traffic was a causative factor, directly or indirectly, in practically every Indian war, says W. E. (Pussyfoot) Johnson, noted THE officer in the Indian service and temperance worker. INDIANS

What the liquor traffic meant to the Indian can never be understood by the white man. The red man was first to protest, and the pages of American history, for 250 years, are strewn with quaint, pathetic appeals from native chiefs for protection from the white man's liquor. When persistent maltreatment by whisky peddlers exhausted the patience of the Indian, savage nature came into control and savagery was met with savagery in its most horrible phases. An "Indian War," the mere mention of which always blanches the face and chills the heart, left its trail of innocent blood across forest and stream, while the whisky peddler, one of the chief causes, skulked away until the trouble was over.

Along with other impedimenta, the colonists to the New World brought COLONIAL the drinking customs of the old world and drunkenness became a common PERIOD vico. The first General Assembly of Virginia in 1619 at Jamestown, regulated the sale and use of ardent spirits, punished drunkenness, and forbade sale or gift of liquor to Indians. In 1631 the Assembly enacted a law that "ministers shall not give themselves to excess in drinkinge, or riott." The laboring classes were not to be permitted to drink and become idle and dissolute.

While Washington's army was starving at Valley Forge, grain was REVOLUTIONhoarded for sale to distillers. Congress, in 1777, recommended that ARY PERIOD the State Legislatures enact laws stopping distilling, and Pennsylvania did prohibit use of grain for making spirits for a time. Dr. Benjamin Rush, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, Physician General of the Continental Army, and one of the founders of the Philadelphia College of Physicians, prepared a strong document, approved by the Continental Congress, urging soldiers to abstain from distilled liquors while in the service of their country.

Conditions in the early part of the 19th Century were described by PIONEERING Abraham Lincoln as follows in his famous address before the Washing-WESTWARD tonian Society at Springfield, Ill., Feb. 22, 1842:

"I have not inquired at what period of time the use of intoxicating liquors commenced; nor is it important to know. It is sufficient that to all of us who now inhabit the world, the practice of drinking them is just as old as the world itself ... We found intoxicating liquors recognized by everybody, used by everybody, repudiated by nobody. It commonly entered into the iirst draught of the infant, and the last draught of the dying man. From the sideboard of the parson down to the ragged pocket of the houseless loafer, it was constantly found. Physicians prescribed it, in this, that and the other disease; Government provided it for soldiers and sailors; and to have a rolling or raising, a husking or "hoe-down" anywhere without it, was positively unsufferable ... It is true, that even then it was known and acknowledged that many were greatly injured by it... There seems ever to have been a preneness in the brilliant and warm-blooded to fall into this vice - the demon of intemperance ever seems to have delighted in sucking the blood of genius and generosity."

In the early days the church did not regard the liquor traffic as a THE CHURCH WAKES great evil, and drunkenness at church allalrs was common. One of the first churches to take a position against "the excessive use of intoxicating drinks" was the Dutch Reformed, established in Manhattan in 1623. The Friends declared against the sale of liquor to Indians in 1623. The General Rules of the Methodist Church in 1743 prohibited "drunkenness, buying or selling spirituous liquors, or drinking them, except in cases of extreme necessity." In 1773 John Wesley declared for prohibition of distilling, and by 1789 he sent forth a ringing declaration for total abstinence from all intoxicants. Practically all other denominations took similar action, and today the church as a whole takes a positive stand for temperance education and action.

EARLY TEMPERANCE ORGANIZA-TIONS In 1789 more than 200 Connecticut farmers organized to discourage the use of spirits. This was considered fanatical in the extreme. Dr. Billy Clark is credited with forming the first temperance organization in America in 1808, which led to other groups being formed. The Washingtonian Society, of which Lincoln was a member, was one of the early temperance movements.

Of special interest is the beginning of action among officials. Gen. Lewis Cass, Secretary of War in Andrew Jackson's Cabinet, organized the first temperance society in Washington, D.C., in 1832. He promoted legislation empowering him to substitute coffee for the Army's spirit ration. At a mass meeting leading to the founding of the Congressional Temperance Society, Daniel Webster made a brief address and presented a resolution. Gen. Cass was elected first president of the Society in 1833, which had a continuous existence until about 1898, and was composed entirely of members of Congress and executive officers of the government.

In 1833 Edward C. Delavan, ex-wine merchant of Albany, N. Y., began circulation of the "Presidents' Declaration," (to which he secured the signatures of Madison, John Quincy Adams, Tyler, Fillmore, Pierce, Jackson, Van Bupen, Taylor, Polk, Buchanan, Lincoln, and Johnson) which stated, "We hereby express our conviction, that should the citizens of the United States, and especially the young men, discontinue entirely the use of it (ardent spirits) they would not only promote their personal benefit, but the good of our country, and of the world."

In 1833 the first national temperance convention was held in Philadelphia and the Temperance Union was organized. Sixty years later to a day, May 24, 1893, the Ohio Anti-Saloon League was founded by Dr. Howard Hyde Russell at Oberlin. The League was organized in the District of Columbia on June 23, 1893, and the National League was organized in Washington in 1895. The W.C.T.U. was organized in 1874, following the Temperance Crusade in Hillsboro, Ohio, in 1873.

THE PEOPLEBoth education and law have been tried to combat the liquor traffic.ACT AGAINSTOf the legal means, local option was most widely used. It led toALCOHOLICstate prohibition, and later to ratification of the legal means,BEVERAGESwhich went into effect on Jan. 16, 1920. National prohibition wasrepealed by the adoption of the 21st Amendment on Dec. 5, 1933.In the second section of the 21st Amendment there is still a mosteffective prohibition feature, once it is understood and used. It provides:

"The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors, in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited."

In the states the people are again resorting to local option to free themselves of the liquor traffic. It is up to the national government to police the traffic crossing state lines.

ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGE SABOTEURS Production is being sabotaged. The Keeley Institute comments on "lost efficiency among drinking people," and says the incidence of skilled labor among their patients is increasing. In an advertisement in TIME of May 18, 1942, the Institute said:

"In these times, many overworked persons will turn to alcohol as a relaxation. As time goes on, however, they may find that it takes increasingly larger quantities to afford them even momentary relaxation. This war, like every upsetting event, will make many alcoholics. Only two out of 100 are susceptible - but those few <u>must</u> see their danger, they <u>must</u> recognize their increasing dependence upon liquor.

"Every working person, each laborer and executive, is vitally needed by the nation. If those two out of each 100 fall into an alcohol addiction, the loss of man power will be staggering... It is the patriotic duty of every man and of every woman to make certain that they are not drifting into an addition that might destroy their home, their health, and make them a debit instead of a credit on the country's balance."

Dr. Thomas J. Meyers, president of the American College of Neuropsychiatrists, said on July 12, 1942, that Chronic alcoholism was keeping 1,000,000 persons out of the war effort.

Liquor interests exploit war effort. The Brewers Journal of May, 1941, said, "Here is a chance for brewers to cultivate a taste for beer in millions of young men who will eventually constitute the largest beer-consuming section of our population." The need for "total physical and moral fitness" was stressed by the President in a letter to Director McNutt, of the Office of Defense Health and Welfare, who said, "There is no question that many millions of lost work days could be saved and that needless accidents and spoilage of materials could be prevented by simple safeguards to workers' health. Nine times out of ten, when a man is physically unfit for work, the cause, so experts say, lies in off-the-job conditions."

Lives are being sacrificed. The National Safety Council reports that in 1941, 1 out of 5 fatal traffic accidents was due to a driver or a pedestrian who had been drinking.

<u>National wealth is being wasted</u>. Asst. Secy. of the Treasury John L. Sullivan said on July 9, "We are spending on the war effort about 4 billion dollars a month." Expenditure for alcoholic beverages during the year is estimated at  $4\frac{1}{2}$  billions. This money could better be used to buy war bonds to help win the victory now, and insure an income of 6 billions to the people later.

# Liquor Leaders Unite in Nationwide Move to Discredit Prohibition and Whitewash the Trade

NATIONWIDE program to whitewash the liquor trade and blast prohibition as a local, state, and federal policy has been launched in New York City by what is called the "Conference of Alcoholic Beverage Industries." The announcement of this movement included also the launching of "a public relations program, aimed at combating prohibition trends" by giving the public "an understanding of the fundamental soundness of the liquor business ... by comparing present conditions with abuses in the past" and bringing it about "that the public ... will continue to prefer a regulated and self-respecting liquor business to the lawlessness that has always attended prohibition."

# "Fundamental Soundness" of the Liquor Business

It might be well to take a closeup glimpse of essential facts of the "liquor business" upon which any dispassionate appraisal of its "fundamental soundness," or otherwise, must inevitably rest.

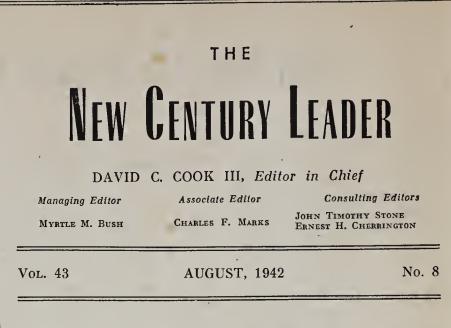
Among many others, the American Business Men's Research Foundation of Chicago suggests ten such facts:

1. The liquor trade is the only existing manufacturing trade whose products are achieved through the destruction of vast quantities of nutritious grains, fruits, and sugars, with the resultant ingredient of alcoholic poison.

2. The liquor traffic is the only trade that annually snares thousands of youth and decoys adults —of whom there is a constantly increasing proportion of women into physically harmful, socially h a z a r d o u s, and economically wasteful living through the habitforming qualities of its wares.

3. The liquor traffic is the only trade whose competition in any community seriously lessens the purchasing power of its patrons

(Continued on page 62)



Enriching the August Sessions Cleland B. McAfee 2	
Editorial 3	
Citadel of the Soul Ralph W. Sockman 4	
Carrying Through a Hard	
Task	
The Value and Need of Un-	
selfish Prayer Clarence E. Macartney	
Isaac-Promoter of PeaceS. C. Parks	
Why Life Is Sometimes FlatCharles Joseph Wood10	
God, "A Very Present Help	
in Trouble"13	
Workmen UnashamedErwin L. Shaver14	
A Program For the August Teachers' Meeting	
What Is in the Lessons For	
- Teachers	

# International Uniform Lessons

August	2:	Abram: A Pioneer in Faith	20-27
August	9:	Abraham's Intercessory Prayer	28-35
August	16:	Isaac Practices Peace	36-43
August	23:	Jacob's Vision of God	44-51
		Jacob Seeks God's Help	

# Published Monthly by the DAVID C. COOK PUBLISHING COMPANY ELGIN, ILLINOIS, U. S. A.

Price: Single or club subscription, 20 cts. per quarter, 75 cts. per year.

Entered as Second Class Matter February 14, 1900, at the Post Office at Elgin, Illinois, under the act of March 3, 1879.

The lesson helps in this monthly are based on the International Uniform Sunday School Lesson Outlines for 1942, copyrighted by the International Council of Religious Education, and used by permission.

# Enriching the August Sessions

N most Sunday schools this is the month of vacations, when teachers, officers, and pupils are apt to be irregular in attendance, but under no circumstances is it wise to close your Sunday school for the month. The summer schedule must never be allowed to be a hit-and-miss affair because attendance may drop off at times. This is no time to relax energies because on any Sunday in any town or community there are enough people to deserve the best attention.

The lessons for the five Sundays of August are very rich and not one of them should be missed. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob-the three patriarchs of the Bible are characters who can be made intensely interesting in any class. In some schools it may be well to combine the classes into two groups-younger and older. Because these Bible stories are rich in teachings for life today, let every Sunday in August be a special day.

Make your room as attractive as possible. Special vocal or instrumental music is generally available. Make generous use of flowers for decoration. You may wish to use attractive cards in boosting attendance. Inexpensive cards with catchy invitations and reminders may be secured and will please the younger members. Every lesson should be well prepared and presented, the music carefully selected, and the welcome at the door especially cordial. August is the month when you may have many visitors and here is splendid opportunity for creating outside interest that may - fact that it was on this day in sometime bring in new members.

#### Illustrating the Lessons

The lesson for August 2 tells of Abraham's venture of faith. On August 3 comes the anniversary of the first voyage of Columbus, which is one of the greatest instances of heroic faith in history.

2

# \* By Cleland B. McAfee

Look this up and tell the story in connection with Abraham's venture. Each of these men "went out, not knowing whither he went." Each found much more than he expected; each blessed the world with what he found. Dr. Malthie D. Babcock was born on August 3 (1858), and on August 2 you can use his hymn, "This Is My Father's World," as a setting for the faith of Abraham who knew that wherever he went he would be under the care of the same God. His grandson Jacob did not know this so well, but he learned it (Gen. 28: 15, 16).

On August 9 it will be well to use "The Star-Spangled Banner" to recognize the birth of Francis Scott Key (1779). The story of his anxious night on the British ship as he waited to see whether Fort McHenry still stood and his relief at seeing the flag still floating in the morning can be used in illustrating Abraham's anxious petitions for Sodom and his relative, Lot.

On August 16, when we are thinking of Isaac's peaceful spirit, use the fact that William Carey, one of the first modern foreign missionaries, was born on August 17, 1761, a man who helped to make a united world rather than a divided one.

On August 30, when we think of the plea of Jacob for God's help in his emergency, we can use the

BIRTHDAYS			
August	6,	1809	Alfred Lord Tennyson
August	9,	1593	Izook Wolton
August			Sir Joseph Bornby
August	15,	1771	Sir Walter Scott
August	17,	1761	Williom Corey
August	28,	1749	Johann Goethe
August	29,	1809	Oliver Wendell Holmes

1897 that the modern Zionist Movement began in Basel, Switzerland. It is a movement of many earnest Jews to create and maintain a home in Palestine, and there is the same earnest plea for God's help among many of its advocates. It is a plan to meet a national emergency where need of more than human help is urgent. We might use also the fact of the birth of Count Tolstoy on August 28, 1828, the Russian writer and leader who came to see how utterly men must depend on God and his law of love.

#### Looking Forward

Two very important committees will start work during August. One will consider the approaching fall Rally Day, the program for which deserves to be prepared adequately. What date is to be used? What relation will the special activities of that day hold to the regular order? What about the invitations or notices, the letters to be sent out, the part of the pastor, the follow-up of new members, or prospective members, provision for looking up absentees, and many more items that will not take care of themselves? A rally which does not bring people out and give the year a good start is no rally at all.

The other committee should prepare for a fall Workers' Conference or Retreat, a time when officers and teachers go aside for a time and think through the program of the coming year. It is best if they can get away immediately after morning service on some Sunday, have dinner together somewhere, spend the afternoon and the evening, getting back late to their homes. Such a retreat will be of great value if it is well planned both as to arrangements and program, and no church that has tried this plan will ever regret the efforts made to insure success.

n-aug

portals daily emerge thousands of drinking drivers and pedestrians who provide the major cause for accidents and fatalities on the highways of the nation.

6. The liquor traffic is the only trade that, despite all the whitewashing of its apologists, in neverending hosts of eases continues to defy every eurb and restriction placed upon it by the community to whatever extent it finds it possible with the consent of conniving officials.

7. The liquor is the outstanding trade which is using millions of dollars in the promotion of propaganda, misrepresenting scientific facts, social findings, and economic experiments.

8. The liquor traffic is the only trade which, in this hour of national crisis, asserts its right to continue on the basis of "business as usual," and openly boasts that it is insuring the success of its after-the-war patronage by culti-

vating "a taste for beer in millions of young men," in our army camps, "who," it asserts, "will eventually constitute the largest beer-consuming section of our population."

9. The liquor traffic is the only trade whose retail establishments depress real-estate values and lower living conditions wherever they exist, either in legal or illicit places of sale.

10. The liquor traffic is the only legal trade in America today that constitutes a constant menace to efficiency, on the twin vital war fronts of production and direct offensive.

In the "public relations program" for the liquor industry's undertaking to sell the public on what it calls the "fundamental soundness of the liquor business," it must first surmount these selfmade obstacles growing out of the very nature of the trade it seeks to champion.

# Plus Prayer

# By Marian C. Randall

N the Acts of the Apostles we find the keynote to the work of the men whom Jesus left to carry on his work: "They were all filled with the Holy Ghost." Then, "with great power" gave they witness. "So mightily grew the word of God and prevailed." The apostles had felt the need of something beyond themselves that they might keep fresh the vision of service imparted to them by the Son of God. They loved and trusted Jesus enough to obey his command, "Tarry ye." Their subsequent teaching, therefore, was the expression of their faith and love. They taught what they had learned in eompanionship with Christ, and in their own experience they had received a sense of God's presence, plus the power of the Holy Spirit.

The teacher of today is adequate to his task only to the degree of power within him expressed in his ability to teach. The promise of Christ sounds through the ages: "Ye shall receive power, velop a God-consciousness through

after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you." Without this power all other qualifications are impotent. Your knowledge and technique, your moral integrity, are of little value unless to them you can add power received through the infusion of the Holy Spirit. No teacher can give what he does not possess. Unless you have found the secret of power, through prayer, and of making real in your own life the resources of the Spirit, you cannot teach their need and value to others. He who approaches his class on Sunday in joy and confidence because he is adequately prepared through prayer and study is entitled to expect large results. In your eagerness to broaden your building, neglect not to deepen the foundations.

Teaching a Sunday-school class means more than factual teaching of the Bible, creating satisfactory handwork, or giving moral training. You are endeavoring to de-

# TAKE CARE OF YOUR TYPEWRITER

You NEED your typewriter! But the Government, the armed services, and manufacturers of war supplies need typewriters too!

That's all right . . . you can make your typewriters last longer by letting us take care of them. Call us today. Our Royal-trained and Royal-approved service will make your typewriters run smoother and easier . . . and they will require less servicing and fewer repairs.

Call us, too, for Roy-type ribbons and carbon papermade and guaranteed by the Royal Typewriter Company.

ROYAL TYPEWRITER COMPANY, INCORPORATED 2 Park Avenue New York, N. Y.

See Your Local Representative





Spread Spread South Stream Str

Muskegon Hts., Mich.





# After high school — what?

There's an onswer for every young Christion . . . Moody Bible Institute. If you're going on to college, get established in your faith first. If you're planning on business, take a yeor off ond study your Bible. If you expect to be a preocher or o missionary, investigate the longer speciolized courses. Tuition is free, with living expenses and privote music lessons ot reasonable rotes. Write for detoils. Next term, Sept. 9.

OFFICE OF THE DEAN Moody Bible Institute 153 INSTITUTE PLACE CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



religious items. Full information sent the sure to carry our is a growing demand for these and our other approval. Send ao money. Rush request today. Churches and clube use this opportunity to raise money for your treasury. LAWRENCE E. STROBEL & CO., Dept. RA-18 257 So. Spring SL, Los Angeles, Cal., or 111 E, 5th SL, Cinstinnail, Ohio



which will come the motives for right conduct and a desire to serve him. By awakening proper emotional responses the pupil will discover for himself ways of putting into action the Christian ideals which he expects to find manifested in you. This is your great privilege and responsibility.

When you face this task, you must realize that power comes only through contact with God. Contact is made through prayer, and it is here that unity with omnipotence becomes real. In the consciousness of oneness with God we reach the depth of religious experience, when the floodgates are open and the Holy Spirit pours in. Only those whose lives are hid with Christ in God know that nothing can take the place of personal communion with him and only they know the results of its employment.

Jesus found prayer necessary. All of the important events of his life were preceded by prayer. Herein lay the source of his strength and power. He prayed not only for himself. To Simon Peter he said, "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not." He knew Peter's need. It may have been the memory of that prayer that brought Peter finally to himself. Later he was able to write, "Watch unto prayer" and "His divine power hath given unto us all things." Christ prayed for the men who had left all to follow him, for children, for the sick. Thus he revealed his love. Just so, the thoroughly equipped teacher will pray not only for himself but for his pupils.

The church needs teachers who not only believe, but who demonstrate the power of their faith. In our contemporary rush, prayer, as other spiritual forces, has been

#### Self-pronouncing Dictionary of the Difficult Names in This Quarter's Text

Å-bim'ě-lech, Å-hŭz'zath, Bē'er-shē'bå, Běth'-el, Căl'neh, Cā'năan, Cā'năan-ite, Chěr'u-bǐms, Ē'dom, Ē'sau, Ē'sĕk, Găth, Gē'rär, Gil'e-åd, Gô-mŏr'rah, Hā'i, Hā'math, Hā'ran, Īsh'-mêe-lītes, Lā'ban, Lŭz, Mā"hâ-nā'im, Mĭd'-ĭ-ă-nītes, Mō'reh, Phā'raōh, Phī'-<u>ch</u>ŏl, Phī-līs'tīneş, Pŏt'ī-phar, Râ-mē'sēş, Rē-hō'both, Reu'ben, Sâ-mā'rĭ-å, Sē'īr, Sī'chem, Sīt'nah, Sŏd'om, Zō'ar. neglected, and excepting in isolated instances we are missing the serene, sacrificial spirit, the depth of feeling underlying the power manifested by Christ and those followers whose lives have enriched the history of the Christian church. Have you found inspiration in the secret of God's presence? Do you find courage, comfort, and power by opening the door of faith and saying, "Father"?

In this day of alarm clocks, bus schedules, radios, and countless other things to summon our attention, it is not easy to arrange a time alone with God. Jesus was busy but he found time. Following his years of preparation he came forth and heard the approval of his Father. "Thou art my beloved Son." He had but three short years to accomplish his earthly work but he spent forty days alone before beginning his ministry. Then he "returned in the power of the Spirit." Time spent in solitary communion with God, even once a day, is time gained in relation to resultant inspiration. strength, and power. Do not allow the shadow of the Cross nor the glory of the Resurrection, vital though they be in your Christian experience, to dim the great significance of Pentecost. If you lack power, do not give up. Remember that the need of the Holy Spirit is grounded in the constitution of human nature, and fellowship with God is the normal destiny of man. If you would receive power ask in faith, believing in God as the supreme personal reality in his ability to provide. Tarry, then, until you are so sure of the presence of the Holy Spirit that nothing can sever you from it. You will not fail to recognize it for "he that believeth . . . hath the witness in himself." Tarry until you are conscious of its power working in and through you. Whatever the need, by emptying your soul of all save the knowledge that God is and that he is all sufficient, you will realize in humbleness of spirit that he is at your side, stronger than any adversary, understanding you better than you yourself. You will find his love shining within you, his strength fortifying you, and in the stillness will come the assurance and power, for "all things are yours."



# INDISPUTABLE FACTS AGAINST ORGANIZED LIQUOR



REV. J. H. ARNDT

National Facts Kentucky Facts



On Liquor and War Bootleggers and Crime Drunk Driving and Insanity

PRESIDENT, Anti-Saloon League of Kentucky; Minister, Zion Evangelical Church, Louisville; Former President Louisville Ministerial Association



On Present Dry Territory, Supreme Court Decisions, The Anti-Saloon League, Why Youth Should Not Drink, State and National Prohibition



WALTER J. HOSHAL STATE SUPERINTENDENT

FACTS YOU WANT TO KNOW

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF KENTUCKY 305 McDowell Building, Corner 3rd & Walnut PHONE JAckson 1632 LOUISVILLE, KY. (Keep and File for Future Reference)

# KENTUCKY FACTS

JUNE, 1942, FINDS 60 (ONE-HALF) OF KEN-TUCKY COUNTIES NOW DRY. Fifty-six per cent of the state's area and 30 per cent of the population are in dry territory; 1,694 voting units are dry. LAST YEAR KENTUCKY MADE AS MUCH HARD

LAST YEAR KENTUCKY MADE AS MUCH HARD LIQUOR as all the other 47 states combined, yet Kentucky is going dry faster than any other state excluding everything over 1 per cent.

THE STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE has addressed over 151,000 pupils in over 900 schools and colleges of the state on "Alcohol and the Human Body," during the past four years. The "Prisoner at the Bar" has been presented over 800 times in 76 counties of the state during the same period.

KENTUCKY'S LIQUOR BILL WAS OVER \$38,000,-000 last year. This is nearly \$15.00 for each man, woman and child in the state. Beside this staggering amount another ten million was spent for moonshine in the wet counties.

FOR THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1942, Kentucky liquor revenue was \$9,157,255.20. There are 4,950 licensed saloons in Kentucky's 60 wet counties, 3,450 of these are beer joints, 900 package whiskey and wine dives, and 600 whiskey and wine retail drink dens.

BY A CAREFUL SURVEY, THE KENTUCKY PA-ROLE BOARD found that 85 per cent of all in Eddyville Prison were there because of drink. The population of Kentucky prisons has increased by over 1,000 in four years.

IF PROHIBITION WAS SO TERRIBLE, then what is wrong with these figures? In 1929 Louisville arrested 2.155 for drunkenness. In 1933, the first year of repeal, over 6,000 were arrested, of which 400 were boys and girls under age. In 1934, 10,600 were arrested including 1,400 boys and girls. In 1937, 12,200 were arrested, of which over 4,000 were boys and girls under age!

WARD J. OATES, ACTING COMMISSIONER OF REVENUE OF KENTUCKY, claimed in an interview that some of the records of the wholesale liquor outfit are "so rotten they stink." Allan Trout, special writer on the Courier-Journal staff, figures that a county is going dry in Kentucky on an average of one every six weeks.

OUT OF THE LAST FIFTEEN COUNTIES VOTING ON LOCAL OPTION, thirteen voted dry. Fourteen of this number had previously voted wet in a local option contest. The Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League rersonally directed the fight in all the above fifteen counties except two.

WHEN HARLAN COUNTY VOTED DRY, over 75,000 people in the third largest county in the state joined the dry parade. 175 beer joints and 53 whiskey dens were put out of business.

MAGOFFIN COUNTY WAS THE FIRST COUNTY TO VOTE DRY (1936) under the present Local Option Act. It still stands as number one in the dry majority of 5,037. Pulaski was the sixth, with a dry majority of 4,789. Muhlenberg, the 59th county, third, with 3,213.

IN FIVE YEARS, THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE made a total of 2,680 addresses, reaching over 460,000 people. This is an average each week of the five years of ten addresses and 505 miles of travel. Sixty-two counties have voted dry the past five years. Only two of that number have returned to the wet fold. This is a record in Local Option elections. It proves that WE ARE HOLDING THE LINE!!

ONE OF THE HIGHEST POLICE OFFICIALS OF LOUISVILLE, as quoted in a Courier-Journal editorial, claims that 50 per cent of the persons operating saloons in Louisville have criminal records. Recently, every saloonkeeper in the city was fingerprinted. Where else would you look for this law defying crowd? THERE ARE 600 SALOONS IN THE CITY.

FIFTEEN SOLDIERS TOLD A POLICE OFFICIAL that in a certain saloon in Louisville they had caught a venereal disease from girls hanging around the place. THERE ARE 600 SALOONS IN THE CITY.

MAJOR KIMBERLING OF THE LOUISVILLE PO-LICE FORCE is reported in the Courier-Journal as testifying that the usual night crowd in a certain saloon in the city was "composed of drunks, prostitutes, known criminals, thieves and soldiers." THERE ARE 600 SALOONS IN THE CITY.

IN A CERTAIN SALOON IN LOUISVILLE, the police found that girls between the ages of 14 and 17 years were hired to entice soldiers to drink. Their pay was a nickle for each 20c drink they sold. The girls were served water "just capped" with whiskey. One girl testified she drank thirty-one such "capped" drinks in one night. THERE ARE 600 SALOONS IN THE CITY.

LOUISVILLE LEADS ALL OTHER CITIES in its population class in crime, according to the FBI. Saloons breed crime. THERE ARE 600 OF THESE CRIME BREEDING CESSPOOLS IN THE CITY.

THE COURIER-JOURNAL STATED editorially about a year ago, commenting on an article by Michael Griffen, that "vice control in the city has virtually disappeared. Any citizen can find evidence for himself. He can walk along most any downtown street at night and see and hear the sordid manifestations." Nothing strange about this. Liquor, prostitution and gambling go hand in hand. Liquor is the greatest cause of vice. THERE ARE 600 BREEDERS OF THIS SORT OF THING IN THE CITY. Why not attack this whole mess AT ITS SOURCE?

DR. ISHAM KIMBELL, SUPERINTENDENT OF CENTRAL STATE HOSPITAL at Lakeland, stated recently that "Alcoholics who must be treated in mental institutions are on the increase in Jeffferson County." "In the opinion of many people," Dr. Kimbell said, "Alcohol is the greatest public health problem at the present time which is not being systematically handled." THERE ARE 600 DISEASE BREEDING SALOONS IN LOUISVILLE creating these "Alcoholics" for the taxpayers to take care of.

LOUISVILLE ARRESTED 900 DRUNKEN DRIVERS LAST YEAR. Probably a small number compared to those not caught. Several hundred people were killed or injured. OVER 600 SALOONS IN THE CITY are turning these potential murderers loose on our streets. What are we doing about it?

FIFTY-EIGHT DRUNK ON MOONSHINE LIQUOR and only two on legal liquor, was the evidence brought out when 60 drunks were convicted in wet Princeton, Caldwell County, Kentucky, during July and August, 1937—four months before that county voted dry.

"SIXTY-FIVE PER CENT OF ALL LIQUOR SOLD IN HARLAN COUNTY IS ILLICIT LIQUOR," stated George Stewart, Spirits Administrator of the State Alcohol Control Board in 1940—two years before that county voted dry.

\*

# NATIONAL FACTS

FOR EVERY \$1.00 WE GIVE THE LORD, we Americans give the Devil \$50.00. Yet, how lustily we sing, "God Bless America!"

SIN HAS BECOME BIG BUSINESS TODAY, and is highly commercialized. As such, it pays large toll to the politicians who run our major political parties. For this reason the progress of Moral Reform is very slow. This deplorable situation is a tremendous challenge to our Christian citizenship.

IN 1938 THE AVERAGE AMERICAN FAMILY spent \$84.88 for liquor and only \$40.68 for milk. THE LIQUOR TRADE CLAIMS TO BE SUCH A GOOD FRIEND OF:

Farmers, yet it uses only 1.4 per cent of our Nation's grain crop.

Labor, yet it employs only 1.7 per cent of our working people.

For every man liquor employs, it puts 4 out of employment.

THE AMOUNT OF WHISKEY MANUFACTURED IN 1933-40 was 1,101,476,638 gallons in the United States. For the same period 1,157,474,857 gallons of wine were made.

THE AMOUNT OF BEER MANUFACTURED IN 1933-1940 in the United States was 11,419,310,369 gallons.

DURING THE SAME PERIOD, 1933-1940, we imported 74,952,175 gallons of whiskey and 21,225,842 gallons of wine.

WE ARE NOW USING NEEDED SHIPS for war materials to send grain to England to make Scotch whiskey to send back to us.

THE NUMBER OF PEOPLE EMPLOYED in the manufacturing was 70,000 in the United States.

IN 1933, THE FIRST YEAR OF REPEAL, per capita consumption was 3 gallons. In 1940, it was over 14 gallons per capita.

THERE ARE 437,000 SALOONS in the United States today against 177,000 saloons before prohibition.

THERE IS A LIQUOR LICENSE FOR EVERY 267 PERSONS in the United States. 11 saloons for every 5 churches. 1 barroom for every 71 homes.

THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC IN AMERICA poured into its victims 1,852,057,700 gallons of all kinds of liquor during the 1940-1941 fiscal year.

THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES spent \$4,500,000,000 for alcoholic beverages July 1, 1940-June 30, 1941. In addition, about 40 per cent more or \$1,800,000,000 went to the bootleggers.

THREE OUT OF TEN DRINKERS BECOME ADDICTS.

THERE ARE 1,000,000 INEBRIATES in the United States; 60,000 new ones are being made each year.

ABOUT 100,000 PERSONS ARE REJECTED by the life insurance companies every year in this country on account of alcoholic indulgence.

THERE ARE 1,325,000 BARMAIDS in America today, three times as many girls serving liquor as there are attending college.

THERE WERE MORE VIOLATIONS of the liquor laws last year than in any five years of prohibition.

THE UNITED STATES IS SPENDING \$15.33 per pupil on education annually, and \$46.15 per capita on liquor.

THE "PITTSBURG CATHOLIC," formerly opposed to national prohibition and in favor of repeal, now indicts the liquor traffic as follows: "Liquor today is a greater menace to the individual, the family and society, as a whole than it ever was before in the history of this country."

ACCORDING TO CHARGES by the Cook County Retailers Council, a section of Chicago where 60 per cent of the residents are on relief (1939), there are 500 saloons.

ON APRIL 10, 1940, the Federal Alcohol Administration banned all reference in beer advertisements to alleged vitamin content of beer or liquor. The Administration has now been abolished.

AT PRESENT THERE ARE NO DRY STATES. Kansas, Oklahoma and Mississippi are frequently referred to as dry or prohibition states. Each one legalize the sale of beer. According to liquor men, most beer stores bootleg hard liquor.

DRY TERRITORY IS RAPIDLY INCREASING. Out of around 13,00 local option elections to date the drys have won 9,000 of them.

\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

## FACTS ON LIQUOR AND WAR

WHEN PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT DREW THE FIRST DRAFT NUMBER he stated: "They must return to civilian life strong and healthy, and self-respecting and decent and free." What chance has a soldier with beer in the army camp—liquors all around the camp prostitution on every corner and organized vice at his elbow? How can this be an "all out war" with liquor given the right of way in tires, sugar, metal, grain and transportation? Are we foolish or just plumb crazy when we give this, the most dangerous of all "Fifth Columnists," the all-clear signal?

ALCOHOL WAS THE CHIEF CAUSE OF THE COLLAPSE of French armies, according to their military chieftains. General Petain declared with great feeling, "Our soldiers were drunk and could not fight." Frenchmen drank 5 pints of alcohol per week. In 1935, the Internal Revenue Reports showed each person in the United States drank 1 3-5 pints per week. Five years later (1940) the amount increased to 2 1-2 pints. It is still increasing.

BISHOP CHAVASSE, OF ENGLAND, said recently: "Alcohol is our fifth column, the enemy within our gates, sapping the morals of our people."

COL. H. WATSON LINDSEY, THE PRESENT SAFETY DIRECTOR OF LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, resigned as Alcohol Beverage Supervisor of Jeffeffrson County in 1940. He gave a number of reasons, as quoted by the Courier-Journal, for his resignation. Among them was: "In these times of National emergency, when our country is calling to the colors the youth of this Nation and when every safeguard to insure the proper and temperate use of alcoholic beverages should be strictly enforced, I am unalterably opposed to and cannot support the present policy by which the number of licenses is being increased at an alarming rate. I cannot but recall that the unrestricted use of liquor just preceding the World War was one of the principal causes of National Prohibition."

"ALCOHOL AND VENEREAL DISEASES ARE AL-WAYS THE TWIN OBSTACLES to the soldier's fitness to fight."

Prof. Irving Fisher, Yale Economist, statement before Council of National Defense in 1917.

"MY EXPERIENCE THROUGH LIFE has convinced me that abstinence from spiritous liquor is the best safeguard to morals and health." General Robert E. Lee.

## GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING SPEAKS (1917)

"BANISH THE ENTIRE LIQUOR INDUSTRY from the United States; close every saloon, every brewery; suppress drinking by severe punishment to the drinker, and if necessary, death to the selier, or maker, or both, as traitors, and the nation will suddenly find itself amazed at its efficiency and startled at the increase in its labor supply. I shall not go slow on prohibition, for I know what is the greatest foe to my men, greater even than the bullets of the enemy."

## WOMEN ARE SAVING TIN CANS SO THE BREWERS MAY USE THEM FOR BOTTLE CAPS

FROM THE "MERRY-GO-ROUND" in the Courier-Journal of August 7, 1942, comes this most disconcerting news to patriotic housewives: "One sad commentary on the war effort is that the big brewing companies are now among beneficiaries of the patriotic campaign to collect tin cans. Together with certain soft drink bottling companies, they are getting for bottle caps, a large percentage of the tin cans which housewives in 140 diffeffrent communities have been so faithfully collecting to be used for bombs and war weapons.

"HOWEVER, ONE BIG SOFT DRINK COMPANY, Coca-Cola, has refused to take advantage of the collected tin cans to make bottle caps and real fact is that the biggest users are brewers."

THE WOMEN HAVE BEEN TOLD that the tin cans were to help win the war, but the brewers offered the W.P.B. three times what the scrap tin was worth in order to use them for bottle caps.

YES, THIS IS AN "ALL OUT WAR"—EVERY-THING "ALL-OUT" EXCEPT THE BREWERS AND THEIR POISON SLOP!

# FACTS ON BOOTLEGGING AND LIQUOR CRIMES

FOR EVERY LEGAL DISTILLERY there are 100 moonshine stills, declares Dr. Wesley A. Sturgis, Executive Director, Distilled Spirits Institute.

DURING PROHIBITION IT TOOK 2,500 FEDERAL AGENTS to enforce the law against bootlegging. Since repeal it has taken 4,500 Federal Agents to enforce the bootlegging laws.

DURING PROHIBITION IN 1929, 26 per cent of the commitments to Federal prisons were liquor law violators. After repeal in 1936, 52 per cent of all commitments were liquor law violators. And they said Repeal would end bootlegging.

LAST MAY (1942) J. EDGAR HOOVER GAVE A STATEMENT expressing grave concern over the increase in crime over 1941. Increases in various crimes was as high as 15 per cent. The Department of Justice declared that 40 per cent of crime can be traced to liquor.

BOOTLEGGERS ARE EVERYWHERE. The smoke screen of legal liquor hides them. The United States Government is hunting them down with planes. Authorities claim that 50 per cent of all liquor sold is moonshine. The Governor of Ohio claims it is nearer 70 per cent. Liberty Magazine for March 3, 1941, states, "we now have the worst system of bootlegging ever known."

"OVER A THREE-YEAR PERIOD I HAVE INTER-VIEWED some eight thousand men received at this prison, of all races and creeds, ranging in age from seventeen to more than eighty years of age. More than 90 per cent of the men admit liquor drinking. Nearly 60 per cent will admit, on close questioning that they were heavily intoxicated when their crimes were committed."

-Samuel B. Wenger, A.B., M.A., Chaplain of the State Prison of Southern Michigan.

11,369 MONSHINE STILLS CAPTURED is the record report of the Federal Alcohol Tax Unit for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942. This is close to double the number captured the year before. 185,747 gallons of spirits captured; 5,471,993 gallons of mash; 3,503 automobiles and trucks confiscated and 20,174 bootleggers and moonshiners arrested. High license and legal liquor breeds bootleggers and moonshiners like garbage breeds flies. Legal saloons are the outlet for their illicit wares.

# FACTS ON SUPREME COURT DECISIONS AGAINST LIQUOR

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT has decleared in several decisions that saloons cause more crime, more misery and more pauperism than any other source. They have repeatedly declared "no man has any inherent right to sell liquor," and "the saloon being a public menace, is inherently unlawful."

> Crowley v. Christensen, 137 U. S. 86 II Supreme Court Reporter 13.)

IN THE SAME ABOVE DECISION THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT SAYS: "Oft times, the man who prates loudest about his personal liberty, is the man who has a wife and half a dozen children. The wife and children know that if he is permitted to gratify his appetite, it means hunger and misery to them. A man has no personal liberty to disgrace, debase and bring to want those who are dependent upon him. He has no personal right to so spend his substance as to make them a charge upon the public. Personal liberty to drink leads to neglect of business and waste of property and general demoralization."

ANOTHER DECISION STATES: "The business of manufacturing and selling liquor is one that effects the public interest in many ways, and leads to many disorders. It has a tendency to increase pauperism and crime. It renders a large force of peace officers essential and it adds to the expense of the courts, and nearly all branches of civil administration."

THE SUPREME COURT OF KANSAS GAVE THE SALOON A JOLT IN THESE WORDS: "The saloon is a contageous peril to the peace and good order of society; it weakens, corrupts, debauches and slays human life and human character."

THE VARIOUS DECISIONS OF THE COURTS AGAINST LIQUOR is summed up in these words: "The whole liquor problem is a question of license or no license. With a license it is permitted to exist, is protected and thus becomes a "LEGALIZED OUTLAW."

PAGE THE LIQUOR OUTFIT. In the face of the above stinging indictments against liquor, stronger language than ever used by so-called "Reformers," does the Liquor Outfit include our Courts when they refer, sneeringly, to "Prohibition Fanatics."

## 60 COUNTIES OUT OF 120 NOW DRY (August, 1942)

DRY BY WET BY WET BY WET BY	WOTE REPEAL WILLIAM DATE ALLIANT DATE ALLIAN		
Ma-           Date Counties .jority           '36 Magoffin5,037           '36 Taylor1,233           '36 Edmonson800           '36 Owsley1,139           '36 Clinton1,338           '36 Pulaski4,789           '36 Russell1,846           '36 Whitney2,157           '36 Breckinridge 1,497           '36 Menifee 616           '36 Leslie 686           '36 Morgan1,411           '36 Barren 613           '36 Metcalfe 750	'36       Livingston       735         '36       Knox	'37 Carter       453         '37 Spencer       399         '37 Trigg       149         '37 Clay       1121         '37 Mercer       1,955         '37 Caldwell       543         '37 Monroe       794         '37 Crittenden       998         '37 Lincoln       381         '37 Wayne       1,448         '37 Garrard       1,069         '38 Graves       421         '38 Wolfe       903         '39 Ohio       1,576	'39 Hancock       234         '40 McLean       890         '41 Logan       2,637         '41 Todd       1,524         '41 Lawrence       738         '41 Webster       1,622         '41 McCreary       419         '41 Grayson       1,975         '41 Simpson       569         '42 HarJan       1,390         '42 Carlisle       570         '42 Butler       1,822         '42 Muhlenberg       3,213         '42 Lee       297

## GETTING THE RIGHT START IN LOCAL OPTION ELECTIONS

In the past, too many counties have been "pushed" in the fight by embryo methods. A few leaders suddenly deciding that the time was ripe and without general approval or knowledge started petitions. Under our new plan your state organization asks that no county enter a local option campaign until:

1st—All the ministers of the county meet to discuss the situation. If this meeting votes "go" then appoint a temporary committee to carry on from there.

2nd—This committee gets in touch with the State organization for approval and suggested date of voting, sample petitions and all instructions pertaining to a proper course of action.

3rd—If the state approves then this temporary complittee arranges for a general mass meeting at which every pastor is held responsible for getting his official board and dry leaders present.

4th—This meeting discusses the matter pro and con. If the vote is "go" a steering committee is appointed representing every section of the county. This committee has charge of securing the petitions and is empowered to carefully select a campaign chairman and committee to conduct the campaign.

5th—Your state organization is usually present at one or more of these meetings to assist and advise every step of the way. No attorney need be employed. The state supervises each legal step.

In nearly every county where this plan and the state's instructions have been followed, the campaigns have been won.

## DON'T

MAKE ANY MOV MAKE ANY MOVE to start a local option election in your county or precinct until you first get in touch with your League. The most important part of a local option election is to START RIGHT.

## TEN COUNTIES

WERE THROWN OUT by the courts after they had voted dry because the legal set-up was wrong. Most of these counties had attorneys on the committee.

## NO COUNTY

HAS BEEN INVAL-IDATED SINCE THE PRESENT SUPER-INTENDENT of the League took charge in 1937. He supervises the legal set-up, furnishes sample petitions and other forms, advises on literature, advertising and assists the counby committee in every way.

SEVERAL COUN-TIES HAVE BEEN LOST because a small group plunged the county in the fight. The plan ad-"ised by the Anti-Saloon League checkmates any embryo attempt to start action without the interest and backing of the ministers and dry leaders.

IT IS THE POLICY OF THE LEAGUE to discourage counties and units getting in the fight where there is little hope of voting dry.

## AS OTHER COUNTIES GO DRY MARK THEM ON THIS MAP

# KENTUCKY FACTS ON THE HISTORY OF PROHIBITION

- 1871—BY SPECIAL ACTS OF THE GENERAL AS-SEMBLY, twenty-five counties secured prohibition between 1871 and 1891.
- 1873—A LOCAL OPTION LAW WAS ADOPTED. Out of 259 towns voting, 207 voted against license.
- 1396—THE COUNTY UNIT LAW WAS ENACTED excepting cities with a population of 3,000 or more from the vote of the county. The dry counties increased to 97.
- 1904—THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF KENTUCKY WAS ORGANIZED in the Broadway Christian Church at Lexington, October 27th, succeeding the Inter-Denominational Temperance Federation which had been organized some years before. Dr. M. B. Adams was elected President and Dr. George W. Young, Superintendent.
- 1907—THE DRYS WON 35 OUT OF 37 COUNTY OP-TION ELECTIONS.
- 1903—DR. N. H. PALMER became Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League.
- 1913-THERE WERE 99 DRY AND 21 WET COUNTIES.
- 1916-106 COUNTIES NOW DRY AND 14 WET.
- 1918—THE 18th AMENDMENT WAS RATIFIED in the House, 67 to 11, and in the Senate, 27 to 5, on January 14. Kentucky was the third state to ratify.
- 1919—THE -STATE CONSTITUTION PROHIBITION AMENDMENT was voted on and adopted in November by a dry majority of 11,224 (FOR—209,-905, AGAINST—198,681).
- 1920—STATE-WIDE PROHIBITION became effective January 16, 1920.
- 1923—REV. IRA L. MEYERS became Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League.
- 1924—HON. A. C. GRAHAM became Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League.
- 1928—KENTUCKY CONSIDERED THE -PRESIDEN-TIAL ELECTION a referendum on the Prohibition question and gave Herbert Hoover 558,064 votes and Alfred E. Smith, 281,070.
- 1933—KENTUCKY VOTED TO REPEAL THE 18th AMENDMENT by a wet majority of 152,236. The vote was 386,653 wet and 234,017 dry.
- 1935—KENTUCKY VOTED TO TAKE THE 7th AMENDMENT out of the Constitution by a wet majority of 109,957. The vote was 421,515 wet, and 312,258 dry.

- 1936—THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY passed a county local option act that has become a model for the nation. Under this new local option act 23 counties voted dry.
- 1937—WALTER J. HOSHAL became State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Kentucky. Twenty more counties voted dry.
- 1941—COUNTIES CONTINUE TO GO DRY. Seven more join the dry column.
- 1942—UP TO AUGUST, FIVE COUNTIES VOTED DRY IN A ROW, including Harlan, the third largest county in the state as to population. Lee County, voting dry, made 60 counties—one-half of the 120 counties.

\*

# NATIONAL FACTS ON THE HISTORY OF PROHIBITION

- 1625—THE FIRST SALOON IN AMERICA was opened in Boston.
- 1650—LIQUOR WAS FIRST TAXED for revenue purposes.
- 1678—New Jersey prohibited the sale of liquor to the Indians.
- 1733—Georgia prohibited the importation of liquor into that colony.
- 1737—THE FIRST TOTAL ABSTAINERS SOCIETY in America was organized by the American Indians of the Shawnee tribe, which held a council at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, March 5, 1737. For 109 years the Indians of New York have held an annual Temperance Convention. In 1937, 600 Indians came from six reservations.
- 1760—THE DIARY OF JOHN ADAMS on February 29th, records: "At the present day licensed houses are becoming the eternal haunt of loose, disorderly people."
- 1776—GENERAL GEORGE WASHINGTON on March 26th, in order issued at Cambridge, Mass., urged the officers of the Continental Army to prevent the soldiers from frequenting tippling houses.
- 1777—The first Continental Congress passed a resolution asking the various state legislatures to stop the pernicious use of grain in making liquor from which "extensive evils are likely to be derived."
- 1789—President George Washington denounced drink as "the cource of all evil and the ruin of half the working men in the country.

- 1792—THE LIQUOR OUTFIT AND DISTILLERS started the Whiskey Rebellion, refusing to pay the new revenue taxes imposed by Congress. President George Washington quelled the Rebellion with troops.
- 1808—THE FIRST TEMPERANCE SOCIETY was organized in 1808. Members pledged not to drink liquor except at public dinners. A similar society organized about this time pledged the members not to get drunk except on the Fourth of July. Pledges of the Maine Temperance Society organized in 1812 were similar.
- 1826—THE FIRST NATIONAL TEMPERANCE SO-CIETY was organized in Boston.
- 1840—SENTIMENT FOR TOTAL ABSTINENCE PLEDGES became National in the organization of the famous "Washingtonians." Later, the "Sons of Temperance." "Order of Good Samaritans," the "Good Templars," the "Andover Society," and others.
- 1851—MAINE BECAME THE FIRST STATE to enact state-wide prohibition. Kansas followed in 1880, and North Dakota was third in 1889.
- 1865—VARIOUS TEMPERANCE ORGANIZATIONS were merged into "The National Temperance Society."
- 1872—THE CATHOLIC TOTAL ABSTINENCE UNION was formed, reaching a membership of over 80,000 in ten years.
- 1874—THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION was organized in Ohio.
- 1881—NEBRASKA WAS THE FIRST STATE to adopt High License.
- 1882—VERMONT WAS THE FIRST STATE to inaugurate scientific temperance instruction in the public schools. Within ten years every state in the Union was "doing it."
- 1893—THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE WAS ORGAN-IZED on May 24th, at Oberlin, Ohio. The founder, Dr. Howard Hyde Russell, is still living in Westerfield, Ohio (August, 1942). He is still active at over 80 years of age.
- 1913—THE NON-PARTISAN MOVEMENT for National Constitutional Prohibition began.
- 1917—THE NATIONAL PROHIBITION AMENDMENT resolution was adopted December 18th. The first state to raitfy was Mississippi on January 8, 1918.
- 1919—NEBRASKA WAS THE 36th STATE to ratify the 18th Amendment, January 16th. National prohibition became effective one year later.
- 1920—NATIONAL PROHIBITION BECAME EFFEC-TIVE January 16th. Forty-six of the forty-eight

1933-PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE MARCH 4th. Within less than three weeks a "Beer Bill" was jammed through Con-gress legalizing the manufacture and sale of 3.2 per cent beer-intoxicating liquor. Senator Sheppard said of this bill: "Nullification! Intoxica-tion! Corruption! This measure will bring waste and woe to the generations measure will bring waste and woe to the generations now in existence and the generations yet unborn." Senator Borah said: "There is no uglier crime than nullification. It is the stilletto that goes to the very heart of the constitutional government." Within a few weeks all restrictions were abandoned and all kinds of Meanwhile, the 18th Amendment was still a part of the Constitution. It was not legally repealed until the following December 5, 1933. HOW'S THIS FOR A TEMPERANCE PLEDGE

## **BACK IN 1600?**

One of the earliest recorded movements towards drinking reform was the institution of the Order of Temperance by the Landgrave of Hesse on December 25, 1600. The members pledged themselves not to drink more than seven glasses of alcoholic liquor at one time, and that not oftener than twice a day.

-Hackwood, Inns. Ales, and Drinking Customs of Old England, p. 160.

## TWO ALL-TIME RECORDS IN DRY VICTORIES

When Michigan voted dry in the 1916 state-wide campaign, Detroit came within 6,226 of voting dry; the largest city ever to attain such a record before or since National Prohibition.

IN THE 1917 OHIO STATE-WIDE DRY CAMPAIGN, Columbus voted dry by nearly 500; the largest city to ever give a dry majority in a straight Prohibition elec-tion, before or since.

THESE TWO RECORDS WERE MADE by Walter J. Hoshal, State Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Kentucky. Mr. Hoshal was the campaign manager in each of the above cities.

\*

# FACTS ON WHY YOUTH SHOULD NOT DRINK

IF YOU EXPECT TO STAY IN THE GAME, leave alcohol alone. It gets you sooner or later. -Walter Johnson of National Baseball Fame.

LIQUOR WILL UNDERMINE BOYS; rob them;

clean them out. That's why I am against it. —Coach Fielding H. Yost, University of Michigan.

THE ONLY USE I HAVE FOR ALCOHOL is for rubbing my body before I run. I have never used, nor do I intend to use, alcoholic beverages. —Jesse Owens, United States Athlete.

I HAVE BETTER USE FOR MY BRAIN than to poison it with alcohol. To put alcohol in the human brain is like putting sand in the bearings of an engine. —Thomas A. Edison.

THERE ISN'T A THOUGHT IN A HOGSHEAD OF BEER. There isn't an idea in a whole brewery. —Theodore Roosevelt.

THE FOUR GREAT SCOURGES OF MANKIND have been drink, war, pestilence and famine, and drink has been more destructive than war, pestilence and famine combined.

—Gladstone.

IT WOULD SIMPLY BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR A MAN WHO DRINKS to be a Scout. Keep off liquor from the very first and make up your mind to have nothing to do with it.

-Chief Scout, Robert Baden-Powell, in "Scouting for Boys."

"BEVERAGE ALCOHOL," SAID THE DOCTOR WHO KNEW, "gives you a red nose, a black eye, a white liver, a yellow streak, a green brain, a dark brown breath and a blue outlook."

DOUGLASS (Wrong way) CORRIGAN, when offered whiskey upon landing in Ireland replied bluntly: "I don't drink."

REV. HARRY E. FOSDICK: "The Liquor Traffic is sacrilege for it seeks to profit from the damnation of human souls."

RED GRANGE, NOTED FOOTBALL PLAYER, replies with an emphatic "NO," when asked if he drinks.

YOUTH WILL DO WELL TO REMEMBER that it's not the fifth, the sixth or the ninety-sixth glass that may be loaded with so much danger. IT IS THE FIRST DRINK. Leave that alone and the rest will be taken care of. You don't need to be a prude. You don't use pepper sauce on your food just because someone else does or because you are invited to. You don't have to take carbolic acid to find out if it is a poison. Run your own life. Practice good generalship. Have the courage to be diffeffrent. Your friends will respect you for it.

THE FOLLOWING ADS FROM ONE PAGE OF THE CHICAGO TRIBUNE ARE HIGHLY SUGGES-TIVE: Situation Wanted—Bartender. Experienced, good mixer, sober, reliable.

Help wanted—Men. First-class cook for small hotel. No drinkers need apply.

Help wanted—Printing salesman; don't apply unless you can fulfill the following: Sober, industrious, etc.

-Religious Digest.

\*

# NATIONAL FACTS ON DRUNK DRIVING AND INSANITY

FOR EVERY DOLLAR WE RECEIVE IN LIQUOR REVENUE the public pays out fifteen dollars—five dollars to drink the poison slop and ten dollars in taxes to pay for the damage caused by liquor in crime, pauperism, insanity, wreckage caused by drunken drivers, broken homes and misery. Liquor boasts of the billion dollars they pay in revenue and the number of tanks and battlcships it would build. Do away with this tragic waste and see how many tanks and battleships we could build with the fifteen billion dollars we would save.

OVER 20,000 PEOPLE KILLED LAST YEAR BY DRUNKEN DRIVERS. "From 50 to 60 per cent of all auto fatilities are due, directly or indirectly, to alcohol." Dr. Herman A. Heise made such a statement to the National Safety Council. Judge Harry H. Porter, Chairman of this Council's Committee on Tests, offers as his personal opinion that "Alcohol is involved in 60 per cent of highway accidents."

DR. LAWRENCE KOLB, ASSISTANT SURGEON GENERAL OF THE UNITED STATES HEALTH SERV-ICE, stated recently that "Alcohol has caused more deaths in the United States than in any foreign country for which statistics are available."

DR. ARTHUR HUNTER, ACTUARY OF THE NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, figures that every drink costs the moderate drinker 25 minutes of his life in addition to his money.

OF THE 25,000 ANNUAL ADMISSIONS TO THE FAMED BELLEVUE HOSPITAL, NEW YORK, 40 per cent are for drunkenness; of all male admissions to the mental hospitals of Massachusetts, 32 per cent are directly connected with alcoholism; the percentage of women admitted on account of alcoholism is gaining rapidly on that of men in all parts of the country. "The nation's greatest disease enemy which is not being attacked systematically is alcoholism," is the opinion of the Research Council of Problems on Alcohol.

> -Vernon Bronson Twitchell, Director of the Alcoholic Inst., Chicago, a Consulting Psychologist, a member of the Research Council of Problems on Alcohol, and a staff member of the Chicago State Hospital.

YOU CAN GET ALONG WITH A WOODEN LEG but you can't get along with a wooden head. In order that your brain may be kept clear you must keep your body fit and well. That cannot be done if one drinks liquor.

—Dr. Charles Mayo, of Mayo Clinic.

ALCOHOL IS A MAJOR CAUSE OF INSANITY, and poisoning from it is the cause of more deaths than many dreaded infectious diseases. . . A large proportion of those who escape premature death go from bad to worse until they become psychotic and find their way into hospitals for mental disease.

-Dr. Thomas Parran, Surgeon-General, United States Public Health Service.

## OVER HALF ARE ALCOHOLICS

STARTLING INFORMATION IS GIVEN by the United States Department of Commerce Special Reports, Psychiatric Services in General Hospitals; 1941, Volume 15, Number 28, Page 355, June 5, 1942. The report shows that out of 33,361 admissions to Psychiatric services in the General Hospitals in the United States for 1941, a total of 19,969 were ALCOHOLICS—OVER ONE HALF. The various disorders are classified as follows: Epilepsy 1,173; mental deficiency 1,444; drug addiction 373; personality disorders 90; psychopathic personality 6,663; primary behavior disorders 1,364; not classified 6,285; ALCOHOLISM 19,969. WHY DON'T WE STOP THE SALE OF THIS POISON SLOP?

## DRINKING WOMAN ARRESTED

THE FBI SAYS that fingerprint records show that the number of women arrested for drunkenness increased 35.4 per cent and for driving while intoxicated 38.3 per cent in the first half of 1941 as compared with the first half of 1940. The number of men arrested for drunkenness increased 33.3 per cent and for driving while intoxicated 21.1 per cent for the same period.

-Second Quarterly Bulletin, 1941.

# NATIONAL FACTS ON THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE

The Anti-Saloon League was organized May 24, 1893, at Oberlin, Ohio. Within a few years every state in the Union was organized and the League became a National Organization with Headquarters at Washington, D. C.

The League is officially endorsed by religious denominations. It is a militant, non-partisan alliance of all persons who favor the extermination of the beverage liquor traffic. IT IS THE CHURCH IN ACTION AGAINST LIQUOR. Its governing body is representative of every group organized for or interested in this great conflict.

FOR FIFTY YEARS the Anti-Saloon League has weathered every storm—every depression and every vicious attack by the organized liquor interest. During these fifty years, over 200 temperance organizations, both state and national, have sprung up, each with inspiring plans and elaborate intentions to do the work better than the League. They have all "Gone with the Wind." The League continues to carry on.

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE IS INTER-DENOM-INATIONAL. It has nation-wide prestige. It is experienced and knows what it is all about. Its leaders are trained in the work. It is the fighting area of the church against leagalized liquor. It is always on the job. It is a tried and proven organization. It is permanent.

### \*

## NATIONAL OFFICERS

President—Bishop Ralph S. Cushman, St. Paul, Minn.
Vice President—Andrew Wilson, Washington, D. C.
Treasurer—Charles E. Coleman, Chicago, Ill.
Attorney—Hon. Edward B. Dunford, Washington, D. C.
Field Superintendent—A. G. Christgau, Washington, D. C.
Field Speaker—Sam Morris, San Antonio, Texas.
Research Secretary—Laura Lindley, Washington, D. C.
Executive Secretary—George W. Crabbe, Baltimore, Md.
Founder—Rev. Howard Hyde Russell, D. D., Wester-

Founder—Rev. Howard Hyde Russell, D. D., Westerville, O. National Headquarters—131 B. Street, S. E., Washington, D. C.

# THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE **REPRESENTS ALL CHURCHES**

The League is officially endorsed by Church denomi-Each denomination officially appoints five nations. members to represent them on the League's official board.

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE OF KENTUCKY is a militant non-partisan interdenominational alliance of all persons who favor the extermination of the beverage liquor traffic. IT IS THE CHURCH IN ACTION! Its governing body is representative of EVERY group organized for or interested in this great conflict.

### OFFICERS

Rev. J. H. Arndt	President
E. M. Wright	.1st Vice President
Rev. J. H. Nicholson, D.D.	
Rev. A. K. Wright	
Miss Irene Stoepler	
Walter J. Hoshal	

## BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Bryce M. Goldsborough Rev. J. R. Wood Rev. D. R. Lovely Rev. B. F. Atkinson Rev. C. A Humphrey Rev. A. H. Gregory Rev. J. H. Nicholson, D. D. E. W. Wright Rev. A. G. Stone Rev. M. P. Hunt Rev. C. L. Breland Wm. Heib Rev. Rhodes Thompson Rev. Kirby Smith Rev. A. C. Brooks Rev. L. E. Baird Rev. Wylie R. Bryant Rev. Wm. F. Hill Rev. W. W. Shepherd	Rev. J. H. Arndt S. L. Renfro Rev. C. E. Vogel J. G. Denhardt Virgel McMullen J. H. Dickey Rev. Rufus A. S Hon. W. A. Frost George E. Hays John Goeing Wm. S. Wacker Rev. R. H. Stewa Rev. Perry L: St Rev. Geo. E. Cole Rev. V. A. Jone Rev. A. Warren Rev. A. Warren Rev. H. Glenn S L. S. Speckman
Rev. Wm. F. Hill Rev. W. W. Shepherd	Rev. H. Glenn S L. S. Speckman
Rev. J. B. Stamer Rev. A. K. Wright	Major W. W. Bou

TICV. D. II. AIMUL
S. L. Renfro
Rev. C. E. Vogel
J. G. Denhardt
Virgel McMullen
J. H. Dickey
Rev. Rufus A. Slinker
Hon. W. A. Frost
George E. Hays
John Goeing
Wm. S. Wacker
Rev. R. H. Stewart
Rev. Perry L: Stone
Rev. Geo. E. Coleman
Rev. V. A. Jones
Rev. A. Warren Huyek
Rev. Ray A. Morris
Rev. H. Glenn Stephens
L. S. Speckman
Major Ŵ. W. Bouterse

# FOR A DRY KENTUCKY

KEEP IN TOUCH WITH YOUR STATE ORGANIZATION

Extra copies of "FACTS" may be obtained by writing the Anti-Saloon League. Single copy 5c, six copies 25c, 25 for \$1.00 and 100 copies \$3.00.

8

# PLATFORM of the National Party

## Founded October 4th, 1917

## Principles, Spirit and Aims

# Headquarters

## Suite 1120 Masonic Temple Chicago, Ill.

Eastern Office, 15 E. 40th St., New York

## PLATFORM of the NATIONAL PARTY

The Conference of radical and progressive groups which met in Chicago, October 3rd and 4th, 1917, unanimously adopted the following platform for a new national party, and decided to recommend it to a national convention to be held at a time and place to be determined by the Executive Committee of the National Party:

The National Party in convention assembled, recognizing God as the source of all beneficent government, makes this declaration of its principles, which it regards as a solemn covenant with the American people:

We declare our aim to be the attainment of democracy in government and industry and in our international relations. We favor such policies on the part of our government as will secure the fullest individual liberty and the most widely diffused equality of opportunity in all that concerns the lives of our citizens.

### PART I-POLITICAL DEMOCRACY.

(1) Universal Suffrage: There can be no equality of opportunity in political affairs, and consequently no complete democracy, so long as onehalf of the adult inhabitants are denied a voice in forming the laws under which they are to live. The right of suffrage should not be denied or abridged on account of sex. We therefore demand the nation-wide enfranchisement of women upon equal terms with men, and favor the immediate adoption of the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the Federal Constitution.

(2) Initiative, Referendum and Recall: No democracy can be safe without guarantees that

the officials elected by the people will represent them faithfully and continue to express the will of the majority of the electors. The people must have the right to originate and to reject legislation, and power to replace elected officials. Therefore we advocate the adoption by city, county, state and nation of the initiative, referendum and recall, with proper safeguards against their abuse.

(3) The Short Ballot: No democracy can be intelligent or efficient without fixation of responsibility and centralization of authority in matters of administration. The enthusiasm and intelligence shown by free citizens in electing leaders whom they know, are changed into indifference and inefficiency when they are required to elect numerous subordinate officials of whose personalities and qualifications they are ignorant. Therefore we favor the principle of the Short Ballot in all state and municipal elections, and a greatly increased centralization of responsibility, especially in matters of municipal administration. We believe that any possible danger involved in such increase of power will be amply guarded against by the people reserving to themselves the right of recall.

(4) Executive Budget: Modern government with its manifold obligations involves enormous expenditures. They will increase rather than diminish. This being true, our present method of appropriation by scattered and disconnected bills, prepared by different legislative committees having no connection with one another, is not only obsolete, but dangerous to the community and the nation.

We therefore favor the executive budget—a schedule of proposed expenditures prepared annually in advance by responsible administrative officers and submitted to the legislature for discussion and modification. We believe that the burden of responsibility should be thrown upon any legislature that proposes to increase the requests of disbursing officers.

(5) Proportional Representation: In a democracy the obligation of the minority to abide loyally by community decisions carries with it the right of the minority to participate in community decisions. It is therefore of the highest importance that minorities should not only take part in the election of the people's representatives, but that they should be assured a direct voice in the legislative council itself. Under our present electoral system every minority party is deprived of representation in the Federal Congress and in the state legislatures, except insofar as it may happen to form a majority in some one Congressional or legislative district.

To remove this obvious injustice, we favor the adoption of a system of proportional representation whereby the members of Congress to which each state is constitutionally entitled, and also the members of the state legislatures, shall be elected at large from the state as a whole, or from districts electing several members each, rather than from single-member districts as at present, so as to assure to every party representation in the legislative councils of the state and nation, in proportion to its numerical strength. We favor the application of the same principle in the government of our cities.

(6) Election Laws: We favor the passage of election laws that will afford minority parties a fair chance to nominate candidates and place them before the people.

(7) Absentee Voters: We hold that no citizen should be deprived of the right to vote in elections by reason of change of residence or enforced absence from home. We therefore advocate the amendment of our present election laws to make it possible for all duly qualified and registered voters who are unable to vote in person in the districts where they are so qualified and registered, to vote by affidavit.

(8) **Cabinet Responsibility:** We believe that all members of the Cabinet should have seats in Congress, but without votes, and be subject to interpellation.

(9) Freedom of Speech and Press: As individual liberty of mind and conscience is no less a part of democracy than equality of political and economic opportunity, and as progress in civilization is always dependent on the right of individuals to express ideas opposed to those held by the majority, we are unalterably opposed to any form of censorship that does not have for its purpose either (1) the withholding from the enemy in time of war of information that is of direct military value; (2) the protection of children from direct suggestions to crime and vice; (3) the prevention of malicious slander and fraudulent misrepresentation; or (4) the detection and punishment of direct incitements to lawbreaking. And in particular we demand that legislation be immediately enacted to take from the officials of the Post Office Department the powers of suppression which they have exercised for a generation.

(10) Prohibition: Alcoholism is a deadly disease, destructive alike to health, happiness, the social order, industrial prosperity, and patriotism. It is an insurmountable barrier to the attainment of true democracy. The results of this traffic are so uniformly injurious to society that it should be outlawed. It requires eradication from all of the territory of the United States as a worse than useless economic waste. We, therefore, favor such Federal laws as shall prohibit at once the manufacture, sale, transportation and importation of intoxicating liquors as a beverage, always excepting its use for religious and industrial purposes.

In order that the destruction of the traffic in alcoholic beverages may become complete and permanent, we favor the immediate submission by Congress of a Constitutional amendment to that end, urging upon the several state legislatures that they promptly approve this amendment as soon as it is submitted.

To this consummation we pledge ourselves and our party with the same earnestness and with as abiding zeal as we do to any other progressive reform to which this platform gives utterance.

(11) Prison Reform: We favor the abolition of contract prison labor, the employment and instruction of prisoners in serviceable trades and occupations and the payment to them of prevailing rates of wages for the support of their familles, reasonable deduction to be made for their own maintenance. We also advocate the restoration of prisoners to citizenship upon the expiration of their sentences. We advocate the proper examination and segregation of prisoners in acvordance with their physical and mental condition and ability, and the establishment of self-government in prisons, to the end that prisoners when released may take their places as useful and self-respecting members of society. Provision should be made for publicity in regard to all that happens within penitentiary walls. Cruelty and injustice to convicts seldom becomes known outside. When it does, it is usually a case of the convicts' word against that of the officials. Occasional investigations are unsatisfactory. Every case of punishment for infraction of rules should be published immediately and all details given. At present a prisoner who tells of wrong done within the prison incurs the ill-will of the officials. Inspection at any time by disinterested citizens should be possible.

(12) Uniform Divorce Law: We favor uniform marriage and divorce laws, the extermination of polygamy and the complete suppression of the traffic in girls and women.

## PART II-INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

It is fundamental to industrial democracy that there shall be equality of economic opportunity and that the economic life of the nation shall be responsive to the people's will. As a result of the industrial development of the past century, conditioned by special privilege, a small minority of our citizens have come to control a large majority of our capital. The artificial monopolies of transportation and communication, the natural monopolies of land, lumber, minerals and water power, and the great bulk of the manufacturing machinery of the nation are owned and controlled by this minority and are available to the workers and to the public only on the sufferance of a privileged class of owners. Therefore we favor a policy of public ownership to be progressively applied to the organized industries of the nation. As steps toward the realization of this indus-

trial democracy we urge:

(1) Extinction of Land Monopoly: Removal of the fundamental evil of land monopoly by taxation of site rental values, this taxation to be progressively increased and taxation of improvements to be gradually abolished.

(2) Public Ownership: Public ownership and

democratic control of coal and metal mines, water power, natural gas and oil wells, steam and electric railroads, telegraph and telephone services, water works, light and power plants, terminal warehouses and elevators, and all other public utilities and basic industries whose operations depend on franchises, or that require large-scale operation on a non-competitive or centralized basis.

(3) Experimental Public Ownership: In order that the efficacy of public ownership may be impartially tested in those industries in which its efficacy is now in dispute, we advocate a policy of careful experimentation by the government in the public ownership and operation of representative industries, and especially those in which the necessaries of life are produced. We urge that this third class of government industries be conducted in every case in fair competition with those that are privately owned, to the end that the relative merits of public ownership and private ownership may be separately and scientifically determined.

(1) Private Industry: Industrial democracy aims not only to guarantee equality of economic opportunity, but also to encourage the fullest individual liberty and initiative in industrial enterprise. It is desirable that our citizens should be free to venture their earnings in the upbuilding of new forms of industry, and the net incomes which result from such undertakings should not be regarded indiscriminately as unearned increment. Often such net incomes are but fair wages due for the useful experiment performed and the social service rendered. We do not object to the continuance of private enterprise in such fields so long as the gains derived therefrom are earned.

(5) The Democratic Management of Public Utilities: The capitalist system, despite its many injustices, has developed two instrumentalities that are of large economic value: The industrial corporation and the trade union. Any from of public ownership which should neglect those instrumentalities and give over the management of our industries to a mere political bureaucracy would arouse the well-merited opposition of all classes. Both the workers and the expert business managers of industry must be protected from the unenlightened tyranny of public officials, and similarly the body of citizens as a whole must be protected from monopolistic extortions on the part of industrial groups. The chief industries should be controlled by administrative boards upon which the workers, the managers and the government should all be represented.

(6) The Farm Problem: The tiller of the soil is menaced upon the one hand by the privately owned means of transportation, storage and marketing, and, upon the other by constantly growing landlordism. Therefore we favor public ownership and operation of all necessary means of transportation, storage, and marketing, and we demand that land monopoly be removed by progressively increased taxation of site rental values.

As further measures for the benefit of the farmers we urge (a) extension of the Federal loan law privileges to those desiring to acquire farm land; (b) provision for advances upon crops or products in storage; (c) government insurance of farm stock and crops against natural calamities.

(7) Abolition of Grain Speculation: We favor Federal grain inspection under a system of civil service, and the abolition of all boards of trade, chambers of commerce or other places of gambling in grain or trading in "options", "futures" or "short selling", or any other form of so-called speculation, wherein products are not received or delivered, but wherein so-called contracts are settiled by the payment of "margins" or "differneces" through clearing houses or otherwise.

1 (8) Extension of Postal System: We favor 1 the extension of the postal savings system, to 1 the end that deposits may be received without 2 limit and that loans may be made direct to the 1 people on satisfactory security at the cost of 2 service. We favor the extension of the Parcels 2 Post to the point of fullest possible public service.

(9) Federal Incorporation: We believe that t for the better protection of the public all private corporations doing interstate business should be o chartered by the Federal Government.

a (10) Labor Legislation:

<sup>p</sup> 1. We hail as one of the important recent de-<sup>n</sup>velopments of industrial democracy the achievement of union labor conditions in industrial establishments engaged in government work, whether such establishments are owned and operated by the government or by private contractors. This is sound social policy and we favor its extension to all work performed by or for the government.

2. We urge that upon all boards or commissions created for the management of publicly owned industries or services, or for the supervision of private enterprises, the workers shall have adequate representation.

3. We favor the progressive shortening of the legal workday in keeping with the increasing productiveness of machinery, and securing to every worker a rest period of not less than a day and a half in each week.

4. We favor the protection of workers by governmental insurance against sickness, injury and death; together with maternity benefits and old age pensions.

5. We favor a more rigorous and effective inspection of factories, workshops and mines, for the better protection of the workers.

6. We favor the adequate protection of children by the enactment and rigid enforcement of thorough-going state and Federal child-labor laws.

7. We favor forbidding interstate shipments of all products made by (a) children, (b) women employed more than eight hours a day or six days a week, (c) convicts under private contract, (d) persons enployed in uninspected factories or mines.

8. We oppose the invasion by the courts through injunction of the Constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech, of assembly and of contract.

9. We favor the extension of the Labor Bureau System, to distribute labor in accordance with supply and demand; and the establishment of a system for placing settlers on unoccupied lands, thereby relieving congestion of population in industrial centers.

10. We urge the development of instrumentalities which shall guarantee to every willing worker opportunity to secure employment adapted to his capacities.

## PART III-INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRACY.

We recognize the Republic of the World as the goal of international political development. As steps looking toward and corollaries of that goal we propose the following:

(1) Abolition of Secret Diplomacy: We demand the complete democratization of our foreign policy and international relations. Believing that the making of secret treaties and agreements by governments without the sanction of their peoples is one of the chief causes of international misunderstandings and wars, we demand that the Government of the United States shall not make any treaty or agreement with any nation or nations except in open session of the Senate. We further demand that in the councils of nations the Government of the United States shall urge that the sanctions of the peoples shall be more essential to any treaties or agreements among civilized nations.

(2) International Policy: In the interest of world peace and a higher civilization we demand that the representatives of this nation in the councils of nations urge the following principles:

1. The sea and all waterways flowing into the sea must be open without hindrance to the peaceful navigation of all peoples. The duty of policing the seas must be made the collective function of the associated nations.

2. All strategic ocean waterways must be internationalized and their protection be the function of the associated nations.

3. Prohibitive or discriminatory tariffs or taxes on trade and commerce and inequitable discriminations among the peoples of the various nations in the matter of franchises, privileges and rights must be prohibited.

(3) Foreign investments: Foreign investments should assume their own risks. They should receive no diplomatic or military support. The United States should refrain from b coming a guarantor of foreign investments.

(4) International Organization: We favor the creation of an international tribunal so constituted as to represent the weak as well as the powerful nations for the settlement of disputes between nations, and the development of effective

methods of enforcing the decisions of such tribunal.

We favor the formation of a union of the nations of the world for the purpose of enforcing international equality and the maintenance of peace.

## THE WORLD WAR

The following Declaration concerning the pending war was also adopted:

By decision of Congress, the duly constituted authority, this nation is at war with the Imperial German Government. The war is a fact and all question as to whether we ought to have entered the war is, at this time, academic and useless. It cannot serve any good purpose and may, if indulged in, result in weakening the national cause and prolonging the war.

Fundamentally the war is a struggle between the ideals and aspirations of democracy on the one hand, and the ideals and aspirations of autogracy on the other hand. Imperfect though our democracy may be, nevertheless it is one of the most advanced in the world.

We rejoice in the assurance that in the words of President Wilson we have entered this war for no selfish objects of our own; that we seek no material profit or aggrandizement, no acquisition of territory, no economic privileges or advantages of any kind, but only the establishment of the freedom of all peoples, great and small, from the aggressions of autocratic force and military ambition.

### Aims of the War.

We entered the war to resist international aggression and lawlessness, to establish a permanent basis for international peace, and to aid in the movement toward democracy in all lands. Believing that these aims are coincident with the best interests of all free peoples, and even those of the people of Germany, and confident that this nation will not forget these aims nor permit our forces to be used for conquest or imperialistic oppression, we pledge our full and undivided support to our nation and its allies in the pursuit of these aims.

Our allegiance of loyalty is that of freemen who do not surrender the fundamental civil liberties, so dearly won, without which there can be no democracy. We assert our freemen's right to freedom of discussion as to the methods employed by the Government in the conduct of the war and as to the terms of peace. Surrender of these rights would be the surrender of the essential principles of democracy.

### Patriotic Freedom of Speech and Press.

We deplore any tendency on the part of any public official, municipal, state or national, to resort to the undemocratic policy of the suppression of all manifestations of dissent or criticism of the conduct of the war, and we appeal in all confidence to President Wilson to exert his influence immediately toward the preservation in this time of crisis of these fundamental civil liberties. While fully conscious of the fact that in this critical period of our history restrictions of civil libertes which in times of peace would be intolerable must be borne in the interest of the national cause, nevertheless we believe that the utmost freedom of assembly, discussion and publication consistent with national safety should be permitted. In especial we believe that the free discussion of the terms upon which peace shall be attained encouraged. Possibly pro-German should be propaganda will be carried on under the guise of discussing peace terms, but that fact must not be used as a pretext for the suppression of a free discussion of peace terms, since in this way alone can the American people be educated on international questions, so as to create an intelligent public opinion between now and the close of the war.

We strongly urge that the unlimited power of censorship now reposed in the Postmaster General should be abolished, and be replaced by a national council of censorship, upon which the various social reform and labor movements of the country shall be adequately represented.

### Equal Suffrage.

Believing that our power in this great struggle for democracy in the world would be enormously increased thereby, we strongly urge upon the President of the United States and upon Congress the desirability of immediately passing the Federal suffrage amendment, to the end that the forces of democracy in the nation may be solidified. To make our democracy complete by the recognition of equality in citizenship would add enormously to our own strength and be an inspiration to all the forces of democracy in the allied and enemy nations.

War Prohibition.

We believe that the best interest of this nation and of our allies would be served by the complete prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicants during the war. This nation has no right while assembling hundreds of thousands and perhaps ultimately millions of our young men under abnormal conditions, in which the ordinary restraints of home and civil life are lacking, to subject them to the terrible temptation and peril of aicoholism. We believe that the Government should not only forbid the manufacture and sale of intoxicants within its own borders, but that it should use all its power to induce the ailied nations to adopt a similar policy, and that in any event we should not furnish food materials to be consumed in the manufacture of intoxicants, nor permit our sons to be surrounded by the evil influences of the liquor traffic while on foreign service.

### Governmental Control and War Profiteering.

We believe that the national interest should be made paramount and that the railroads, telegraphs, mines, steel and iron works, munition factories and other great economic functions essential to the conduct of the war should be taken over by the government and socialized.

We demand that immediate and drastic steps be taken to put an end to the iniquitous profiteering which enables a relatively small class to make enormous profits out of the tragic sacrifice of biood and treasure being made by the nation as a whole. That the great war should be exploited for private profit and aggrandizement is a stain upon the national escutcheon. For example, it has been estimated that whereas in the three years, 1911, 1912 and 1913, the average yearly profits of the United States Steel Corporation were \$63,500,000, its profits for 1917 will reach the fabulous total of \$550,000,000. We have conscripted the manhood of the nation to wage this great war for democracy in the world, and we cannot reasonably do less than conscript these excess profits. England levies a flat 80 per cent tax on excess war profits. Such a tax levied upon the war profits of the Steel Corporation would yield a revenue of \$389,200,000 to the Government toward the payment of the war cost. This would still leave the Steel Corporation \$97,300,000 excess war profits, in addition to the \$63,500,000, the average yearly profit of the three years preceding the war. There would thus be a total of \$160,800,000 to be distributed as dividends among its stockholders, much more than double the average earnings of the corporation in the three most prosperous years of its history prior to the war. Until such time as this and similar industries are taken over by the Government and operated for the common good, all excess war profits should be taxed upon a basis at least equal to that which already obtains in Great Britain.

## Organized Labor Representation.

We heartily approve the policy of the Government in placing upon all boards and commissions created for the regulation of industry during the war representatives of the organized labor movement chosen by the workers themselves. We urge that this policy be extended and the representation and influence of the workers upon such boards be materially increased. We demand furthermore in the interest of democracy, that when the time comes for the selection of peace commissioners to represent this nation in the arrangement of terms of peace such commissioners shall include representatives of organized labor and the radical forward-looking democratic forces of the nation. Only in this way we believe will it be possible to make our peace commission thoroughly representative of the democratic impulse and spirit of the nation.

## THE NATIONAL PARTY

Headquarters, Suite 1120 Masonic Temple State and Randelph Sts, Chicago

Eastern Office, 15 E. 40th St., New York

### TEMPORARY OFFICERS

Ira Landrith, 1120 Masonic Temple, Chicago, Chairman

David C. Coates, Washington.. ]

W. G. Calderwood, Minnesota...

Matthew Hale, Massachusetts... Vice-Chairmen J. G. Phelps Stokes, New York.

Mrs. Annie E. K. Bidwell, Cal.

Fred H. Chase, 15 E. 40th St., New York, Sec'y Louis Wallis, 1120 Masonic Temple, Chicago, Assistant Secretary

Wm. F. Cochran, 1531 Munsey Bldg., Baltimore, Treasurer

John Spargo, 15 E. 40th St., New York, Director of Propaganda and Education

## ADDITIONAL MEMBERS OF THE EXECU-TIVE COMMITTEE

Mrs. F. E. Beauchamp, Lexington, Ky. O. S. Bishop, Utica, N. Y. E. E. Carr, Chicago, Ill. Dorr H. Carroll, Minot, N. D. Otto Cullman, Chicago, Ill. D. C. Finley, Kansas City, Mo. Charlotte P. Gilman, New York, N. Y. Prof. Ellen Hayes, Wellsley, Mass. C. G. Hoag, Philadelphia, Pa. Chas. F. Hoffman, Jackson, Mich. J. A. H. Hopkins, New York, N. Y. Morton Johnson, Chicago, Ill. C. W. McClure, Atlanta, Ga. A. W. McCurdy, New York, N. Y. Dudley F. Malone, New York, N. Y. Prof. W. P. Montague, New York, N. Y. A. T. Moon, Salt Lake City, Utah. Hugh Reid, Chicago, Ill. Hugh V. Reilly, Newark, N. J. O. H. P. Shelley, Helena, Mont. John F. Sinclair, Minneapolis, Minn. Upton Sinclair, Pasadena, Calif. Rose Pastor Stokes, New York, N. Y. Harry W. Willock, Pittsburg, Pa.

# Do You Believe in

Short Ballot? Prison Reform? Woman Suffrage? Labor Legislation? National Prohibition? Industrial Democracy? Agrarian Improvements? Government Ownership? International Democracy? Proportional Representation? Taxation of Land Rental Values? Patriotic Freedom of Speech and Press? If so enroll today in the NATIONAL PARTY

## MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

National Party, 1120 Masonic Temple, State and Randolph, Chicago. Eastern Office, 15 E. 40th St., New York

To the Subscriber: The National Party requires for its work a fund many times larger than can be raised by membership fees; therefore, you are asked to make your remittance as much more than the minimum of Two Dollars as you are able.—National Committee.

# The Federal Council and Industrial Relations

Ŧ

Summary of its Position and Practical Work since its Foundation in 1908, and Outline of the Policy Inaugurated in 1920

Federal Council of The Churches of Christ in America 105 East 22nd Street, New York HE Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America was organized in Philadelphia in 1908, as a national cooperative agency for the Protestant churches of the United States. The same conference created the Commission on the Church and Social Service, to have responsibility for the Council in the field of the social interpretations of religion and the community work and relationships of the churches.

The Federal Council at that time took positive ground in regard to social questions, and everything that has been done since has followed along the general lines then outlined. It contended for the authority of Christ in the associated life of men, as well as in the individual heart. It took the position that "the appeal of the Gospel is based upon the inherent worth of every man in God's sight." It threw its influence against class struggle and class dominance, saying that "it is impossible to deal with society on a class basis," and that "Jesus came to make a fellowship of all classes."

OPPOSITION TO THE CLASS STRUGGLE

This significant utterance with regard to class struggle, which so fully expresses the spirit of American democracy, was elaborated in the statement on The Church and Social.Reconstruction issued in the spring of 1919:

"In some respects, the most urgent question before the world at the present time is the method of social reconstruction; shall it be by constitutional and peaceable methods, or by class struggle, violence and revolution? Shall we be willing suddenly to overturn the social order according to untried theories of industrial and political organization; or beginning where we are, and conserving what has been achieved in the past, shall we proceed by social experimentation, going as far and fast as experience demonstrates to be necessary and desirable? In America, where, as in England, the people hold political power and freedom of discussion and association, and can do finally whatever they will, there is every reason for following the second method.

"The supreme teachings of Christ are of love and brotherhood. These express themselves, in a democracy, in the cooperation of every citizen, for the good of each and all. This results ideally in a noble mutualism and in equal and world-wide justice, which constitute the highest goal of human endeavor. The doctrine of the class conscious struggle is opposed to this ideal. It is a reversion to earlier forms of competitive struggle. It not only strikes at injustice by greater and more savage injustice, but tends in practice to the breaking up of society, even of radical groups, into bitterly antagonistic factions, thus defeating its own ends. The dictatorship of the proletariat in practice is a new absolutism in the hands of a few men, and is as abhorrent as any other dictatorship. The hope of the world is in the cooperation of individuals and classes and the final eliminations of classes in the brotherhood of a Christian society. To build up this cooperation should be the supreme endeavor of the churches."

# STATEMENT OF 1908 ON EMPLOYER AND EMPLOYED

The statement on The Church and Modern Industry, adopted at Philadelphia in 1908, also went on record for the right of Labor, "as it is the right of men everywhere, within the law, to combine for common ends."... "Despite the errors of individuals and groups, the faults of spirit, the imperfection of methods, and, in some instances, most deplorable results, organized labor is to be regarded as an influence not hostile to our institutions, but potent in beneficence. When guided from within by men of far sight and fair spirit, and guarded from without by restrictions of law and of custom against the enthusiasms which work injustice, the self-interest which ignores the outsider, or the practices which create industrial havoc, trades unionism should be accepted not as the Church's enemy, but as the Church's ally."

Speaking of employers, it said: "We regard with the greatest satisfaction the efforts of those employers, individual and corporate, who have shown in the conduct of their business a fraternal spirit and a disposition to deal justly and humanely with their employees as to wages, profitsharing, welfare work, protection against accidents, sanitary conditions of toil, and readiness to submit differences to arbitration."

The statement also has a significant utterance as to the function of the Church in the industrial field: "It may well accept as its chief responsibility, without abating its efforts to remove immediate and palpable evils, the creation of that atmosphere of fairness, kindness and good will, in which those who contend, employer and employee; capitalist and workingman, may find both light and warmth, and, in mutual respect and with fraternal feelings, may reach the common basis of understanding which will come to them not by outward pressure, but from the inner sense of brotherhood."

## HISTORY OF THE SOCIAL CREED OF THE CHURCHES

The statement of 1908 closes with a series of thirteen condensed resolutions for which it said the Church should stand. These may be seen in their original form in the pamphlet which contains the text of the Statement on the Church and Modern Industry.

The first draft of these resolutions had been formulated by the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church early in 1908, before the Federal Council had been established. At the first meeting of the Council, the Philadelphia meeting in December of the same year, it adopted the statement, with three additional clauses. Following this step, most of the leading denominational bodies in the United States, by official action, made the statement their own, sometimes with further clauses. Included in these bodies were the National Council of the Congregational Churches in 1910, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. in 1910, the Northern Baptist Convention in 1911, the Seventh Day Baptist General Conference in 1913, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1914, and later the United Brethren, the Christian Church, and the Reformed Church in the United States. Other church agencies which have not taken formal action have nevertheless given informal approval, illustrated, for example, by the ac-tion of the Social Service Commission of the Protestant Episcopal Church in reprint-ing and circulating "The Social Ideals" in

5

its own literature. The Home Missions Council, representing practically all the home mission boards in the country, approved the statement in 1920.

At the quadrennial meetings of the Federal Council in 1912 and 1916 the "Social Ideals of the Churches" were reaffirmed, with a few new clauses, so that the statement now reads:

- PRESENT FORM OF THE SOCIAL IDEALS OF THE CHURCHES
  - The churches stand for-
    - I. Equal rights and justice for all men in all stations of life.
    - Protection of the family by the single standard of purity, uniform divorce laws, proper regulation of marriage, proper housing.
    - III. The fullest possible development of every child, especially by the provision of education and recreation.
    - IV. Abolition of child labor.
      - V. Such regulation of the conditions of toil for women as shall safeguard the physical and moral health of the community.
    - VI. Abatement and prevention of poverty.
    - VII. Protection of the individual and society from the social, economic and moral waste of the liquor traffic.
  - VIII. Conservation of health.
    - IX. Protection of the worker from dangerous machinery, occupational diseases and mortality.
      - X. The right of all men to the opportunity for self-maintenance, for safeguarding this right against encroachments of every kind, for the protection of workers from the hardships of enforced unemployment.
    - XI. Suitable provision for the old age of the workers, and for those incapacitated by injury.
    - XII. The right of employes and employers alike to organize; and for adequate

means of conciliation and arbitration in industrial disputes.

- XIII. Release from employment one day in seven.
- XIV. Gradual and reasonable reduction of hours of labor to the lowest practicable point, and for that degree of leisure for all which is a condition of the highest human life.
  - XV. A living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford.
- XVI. A new emphasis upon the application of Christian principles to the acquisition and use of property, and for the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY RESOLUTIONS

In 1919, four resolutions were adopted by the Cleveland Convention of the Federal Council. These are not a part of the Ideals, but were applications of its general principles to problems of reconstruction that were being faced at the close of the war.

 $\operatorname{RESOLVED}$  : That we affirm as Christian Churches,

- 1. That the teachings of Jesus are those of essential democracy and express themselves through brotherhood and the cooperation of all groups. We deplore class struggle and declare against all class domination, whether of capital or labor. Sympathizing with labor's desire for a better day and an equitable share in the profits and management of industry, we stand for orderly and progressive social reconstruction instead of revolution by violence.
- 2. That an ordered and constructive democracy in industry is as necessary as political democracy, and that collective bargaining and the sharing of shop control and management are inevitable steps in its attainment.

- 3. That the first charge upon industry should be that of a wage sufficient to support an American standard of living. To that end we advocate the guarantee of a minimum wage, the control of unemployment through government labor exchanges, public works, land settlement, social insurance and experimentation in profit sharing and cooperative ownership.
- 4. We recognize that women played no small part in the winning of the war. We believe that they should have full political and economic equality with equal pay for equal work, and a maximum eight-hour day. We declare for the abolition of night work by women, and the abolition of child labor; and for the provision of adequate safeguards to insure the moral as well as the physical health of the mothers and children of the race.

In the same month the Board of Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church promulgated a statement on "The Church and Social Reconstruction," in which were included the main points which had found a place in these resolutions, viz., a living wage as the first charge upon industry and collective bargaining as an instrument for the attainment of a more democratic procedure. The National Council of the Congregational Churches, meeting at Grand Rapids during the same year, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., in May, 1920, made similar official utterances. So, also, did the Social Service Committee of the Northern Baptist Convention in 1919. Recent pronouncements by other bodies have also been made along the same general line, such as the notable declaration of the Anglican Bishops at the Lambeth Conference last

8

summer on "The Church and Industrial Problems," and the statement of the All Friends Conference in London.

Not only denominational authorities, but also great interdenominational agencies, have made "The Social Ideals of the Churches" their own. In 1919 the Fortieth International Convention of the Young Men's Christian Association adopted its sixteen articles, and in May, 1920, the Convention of the Young Women's Christian Associations endorsed both the statement and the four resolutions of the Cleveland Convention.

"The Social Ideals," therefore, may rightly be regarded as the common voice of the churches. In the language of one of the resolutions adopted at a conference of churchmen held under the auspices of the Chicago Church Federation on January 23rd and 24th of this year: "We believe that the statement of the Social Ideals of the Church represents a more general consensus of agreement as to the application of Christian principles to industry than any official statement which has yet appeared."

The Federal Council has consistently followed the principles set forth in these statements over a period of thirteen years, with an ever-enlarging program of teaching and service. Its Labor Sunday Messages for the use of pastors year by year, its growing pamphlet and study course literature, its impartial inquiry into the ethical issues at stake in several industrial disputes, its conferences in cities and towns throughout the country with the clergy and laity of the churches, have all worked towards the dissemination of these principles, and the organization of the churches for constructive service in their communities.

# ACTION FOR INDUSTRIAL PEACE, SPRING OF 1920

In the spring of 1920 the Commission became convinced, because of increasing conflicts in the industrial field, that the time had come for the churches to exert their utmost influence toward industrial peace. It was apparent then, and is now even more apparent, that not only are the economic losses reaching enormous proportions, but the solidarity of our democracy is being undermined by the conflict, and the class struggle is creating suspicion and bitterness faster than the churches and other forces of education are able to build up the national brotherhood.

The right of the church to enter that field with its teaching cannot be justly questioned. It was contended for in the statement of 1908, and restated in the message on The Church and Social Reconstruction in 1919, in the following words: "The churches to-day recognize, as they did not a generation ago, that the Kingdom of God is as comprehensive as human life with all of its interests and needs, and that they share in a common responsibility for a Christian world order. They are convinced that the world is the subject of redemption; that the ethical principles of the Gospels are to be applied to industry and to the relations of nations; that the church is to devote itself henceforth assiduously to these purposes along with the individual ministries of religion." In fact, religion is for the whole of life, or it will finally have no meaning to life whatever. It is the universal spiritual order, whose laws are beneath society, as the laws of nature lie under the sciences, or it is nothing.

The Commission, therefore, determined to take the following action:

- 1. To exert its influence to bring together employer and employed for mutual conference, in order to work out cooperative relations.
- To do its utmost to create a spirit of good will and fair dealing in place of the present suspicion and antagonism.
- 3. To urge the point of view that industry will never be secure and peaceful until it is built upon sound ethical principles such as are expressed in the Sermon on the Mount and the Golden Rule.
- 4. To hold conferences in industrial centers throughout the United States in order to assist pastors in their teaching and to bring together business men, workingmen, ministers and public officials to consider and discuss these questions.
- 5. To produce study courses and a literature of fact material bearing upon industrial problems, including information concerning experimentation in the United States and Europe, for the use primarily of pastors and editors of church papers, but also for employers, workingmen and public officials.

#### FIRST INDUSTRIAL CONFERENCES

A conference was held in Atlanta in May, 1920, under the auspices of the Atlanta Council of Churches, in which the Executive Secretary, accompanied by Earl Dean Howard, Labor Personnel Manager of the Hart, Schaffner & Marx Company, of Chicago, met first the Committee on Social Service of the Council at luncheon, and later, at dinner, a large conference of ministers and laymen holding responsible positions in the industries of Georgia.

The method followed at the conference has been adopted as a general policy. Dr. Tippy spoke on the spiritual and moral phases of the application of Christian prin-ciples to industry, Mr. Howard on the problem of their application to industrial management. The church is agreed that its clergy are unacquainted with business management, and that the Christian banker, manufacturer and labor leader must be intrusted with the task of carrying Christian principles into their respective spheres of service in industry. But the Church is competent to teach concerning the spiritual and ethical questions involved through its clergy, and through its experienced laymen who do their work in Christ's spirit it is competent to teach on the problems of industrial management. The churches cannot escape this responsibility.

On October 16th a conference with employers, labor personnel managers and industrial engineers was held in New York to discuss the industrial policy of the Federal Council. Those present were emphatic that the Church is needed in the industrial field, and that it must not be discouraged or hindered by opposition. The plans for research literature, study courses and conferences in industrial centers were approved without dissent.

In January a series of the city-wide conferences were held in Cincinnati, Dayton and Chicago under the direction of the Federation of Churches in each city. The denominational secretaries for social service and the Executive Secretary of the Commission on the Church and Social Service constituted a staff of speakers. At Cincinnati, Mr. Henry Dennison, president of the Dennison Mfg. Co., Framingham, Mass., addressed employers and the public; at Dayton, Mr. Arthur Nash, president of the A. Nash Co., Inc., of Cincinnati; at Chicago, Mr. Earl Dean Howard, of the Hart, Schaffner & Marx Co., and other representatives of Chicago industries. At the Chicago meeting a dinner conference was held with leaders of labor and local ministers. The total attendance at the Chicago conference reached 8,000 persons.

These conferences were so manifestly timely and successful in spite of their newness and lack of an assured program that it was determined to organize other similar conferences throughout the country. Local Committees on Industrial Reconciliation will be organized, whenever possible, to follow up the conferences, and local pastors will be encouraged and helped to make actual contacts with industries in their communities, so as to better understand the issues involved in order to be more effective teachers.

In this connection mention should be made of the fact that the Commission on Social Service has had frequent interviews with leaders of Labor and influential employers. A significant dinner conference was held in March, 1921, in the home of Mr. R. J. Caldwell, chairman of the board of the Connecticut Mills Company, Inc. While differences of view as to details of procedure were expressed at this dinner, the discussion developed general consensus of opinion that the Church is bound to recognize its relations to the industrial problem, and that while its function might be difficult to define, and those present did not agree as to what it should be, the spirit of brotherhood and service which it represents was considered indispensable to any solution of the problem of capital and labor.

#### STATEMENT ON THE OPEN SHOP

The Federal Council issued a statement relative to the Open Shop in January, 1921. The statement was not a criticism of employers in general, nor was it a criticism on the open shop as such, for the Council has stood for freedom in industry, and has never favored a closed shop by either emnever lavored a closed shop by either em-ployers or employees. It was a protest, first, against those who are unfairly using the open shop movement under the guise of freedom in industry, to break the back of labor organization and to establish a real closed shop, open only to non-union labor; and, secondly, against thus precipi-tation ensured bitteraces at a time of mide tating renewed bitterness at a time of widespread suffering and social unrest. The statement grew out of the conviction of the Council that every effort should be made at this time to bring the contending forces together, and that employers, because of their position of leadership and advantage, should take the necessary first steps. The point of view of the statement was not essentially different from that issued by The Merchants' Association of New York in its report, issued under date of March, 1921, and the statement by ex-President William H. Taft, in the Philadelphia Ledger Forum.

This procedure in industrial relations resulted in a determined effort to cripple the Federal Council by withdrawal of subscriptions, and by concerted attacks through the press and by mail. The effort to do this has been led not by employers themselves so much as by publications like the The National Civic Federation Review of New York, Industry of Washington, and the Coal Review of Washington. The articles and editorials in these papers have been amazingly misleading and frequently untrue or absurd. The Coal Review, for example, announced on a full front page of its issue of January 5, 1921, that the Federal Council was to make an investigation of the coal industry and gave the names of a committee said to have been appointed to direct the inquiry. As a matter of fact, no such study of the industry had been planned and no committee appointed, although the Council reserves the right to make such investigations when the situation seems to require that they be made. This statement was inadequately corrected in the issue of March 9, but meanwhile it had gone broadcast. Finance and Industry of Cleveland gave it a front page, but retracted in a subsequent issue. Cancellations of subscriptions to the Fed-eral Council in large numbers have followed these publications.

EFFORT TO DESTROY THE FEDERAL COUNCIL

Most amazing of all is the effort of the Pittsburgh Employers' Association, led by its salaried Vice-President and General Manager, to alienate the local financial backing of the Young Women's Christian Association, to bring about the dismemberment and financial disintegration of the Federal Council of Churches, and to force the churches of Pittsburgh and the churches nationally out of the field of industrial relations.

This effort is against the best interests of employers themselves. If it could succeed it would remove some of the strongest factors for good will and brotherliness out of industrial relations at a time when nothing is so much needed. It is certain to turn public sentiment against these leaders of industry, when once it becomes known, and it will tend to further harden the hearts of the workers.

Has not the time come for progressive and Christian employers, who realize the need of the spirit of religion in the industrial life of America, first, to exert their influence in employers' organizations to keep within bounds publications such as those mentioned, and to bring about a fairer and more progressive policy; second, to support the Federal Council and the various denominations in their social service work, to help them through all difficulties and to give them the aid of their counsel; third, to do what they can by writing and speaking, and by personal efforts in their own establishments, to strengthen the cause of industrial peace?

"In every part of the world where British interests are at stake, I am in favor of advancing and upholding these interests, even at the cost of annexation and at the risk of war. The only qualification I admit, is that the country we desire to annex or take under our protection. the claims we choose to assert, and the cause we decide to espouse, should be calculated to confer a tangible advantage upon the British Empire."

Extract from "Seven Seas"

"World Empire", says the Seven Seas. the organ of the Army and Navy League. "is the only logical and natural aim of a nation. The true militarist believes that pacificism is the masculine and humanitarianism is the feminine manifestation of national degeneracy. It is the absolute right of a nation to live to its fullest intensity. to expand, to found colonies, to get richer and richer by any proper means, such as armed conquest. commerce and diplomacy."

Colum chickle? ~ -

#### SUCCESSFUL Rules of Business FOR EXECUTIVES AND WORKERS

 Let your first concern be to make men of your employees, and they will make your business prosper.

2. Be a true brother to your employee and fellow worker and he will do wonderful team work under your captaincy.

 Place service to your associates above personal gain and their responsiveness will, in turn, bring a greater success to you.

 Deal fairly with men and they will be fair to you—only thus can justice prevail and helpful co-operation become a fact.

5. Think of your obligations as of primary importance, your rights as secondary, and you will win the faith and confidence of your associates, which are the first essentials of success in business.

 Get the right concept of your liberties, namely the right to do with your possessions only those things which will help your fellow man as well as yourself. Only thus can you be sure of continued freedom.

 Regard your possessions as a trust, yourself as an administrator only for the good of men and the glory of God, the owner. Thus only shall your wealth bless and not curse you.

8. Assume the right attitude of mind in all life's relationships, namely, dominate things, cooperate with men in love, preferring one another, worship and glorify God. Only thus can you avoid friction, strife and worry.

 Remember that great achievements are obtained by use of spiritual rather than material forces. Value faith, confidence, intelligence, ambition, character, creative capacity, joy in service above lands, forests, mines, buildings, machines or money.

10. Accept the philosophy of Christ the Lord. "Seek you first the glory of God and His righteous way of life and all these things (prosperity, regard of fellow men and the joy of living) shall be added unto you."

There on gill employee I beer wealth

The point that strikes Lient.-Col. WIL-LIAM LUDLOW of the Engineer Corps, in his Mudy of the military systems of Europe and the United States, in the North American Review, is that Europe has become "practically an armed camp." He regards it as one of the most extraordinary facts of the time that "the outcome of centuries of increasing enlightenment and cultivation, smong peoples whose avowed creed is Christianity, should be an elaborate preparation for mutual attack." But the adoption throughout the Continent of the German Gystem produces just that result.

The controlling principles of this system are universal liability to military service, with actual service at the discretion of the Government; the maintenance of the largest practicable trained force, under a simple and perfect organization, with a reserve, and back of that a militia; the study of every military possibility, with a view to prompt and concerted action at the ontbreak of war. The result is that we find Germany maintaining, in peace, 584,548 soldiers; France, 523,755; Austria-Hungary, 299,150; Italy

The result is that we find Germany mane taining, iu peace, 584,548 soldiers; France, 523,755; Austria-Hungary, 299,150; Italy, 247,228; Russia in Europe, 977,500; Great Britain. if we include 76,721 in India, 220,509.

In the case of England, however, we do not find the German system either of universal and enforced service, or of army organization. Being isolated from the Continent she keeps up her force by voluntary enlistments. But she takes the lead in naval preparations, and expends aunually on her army and navy combined \$160,000,-000, or about one-third of her gross revenue, while Germany, expeuding the same sum, uses up considerably more than one-third of her revenue. France, richer than Germany, but carrying an enormous debt, does not scruple to pay \$180,000,000 a year for her army and navy. while Austria and Italy, the latter with her finances in a sorry state, pay out about \$80,000,000 each.

Supposing a vigorous man to be able to earn double the cost of his support, the withdrawal of these vast armies from the indus- $\mathbf{of}$ the community might well, accordtries ing to Col. LUDLOW, represent thrice the actual cost of maintenance ascribed to them. Deduct that nucleus of armed force which a just regard for national defence and the needs of maintaining internal order and respect for law might require, and still there is an enormous balance to be charged against the oppressive burdens of militarism. In contrast we have the maximum en-listed strength of 25,000 allowed to our regular army, which, through sundry addi-tions, may become 25,772, with 2,136 offi-cers, thus constituting an aggregate of 27,908 officers and men. Even with the addition of 117,533 organized militia, which is the number given in Secretary LAMONT'S recent report, the total would be small, considering the area, population, and wealth of this country. But in reality our State troops are not withdrawn from ordinary occupations, aud are in no sense a burden upon the country's industries.

Of course, as Col. LUDLOW says, the army would be wholly inadequate in a grave necessity for resisting foreign attack or maintaining internal peace; but then it would be reënforced. Yet the traditional policy of leaving the people free for industrial aud commercial pursuits has shown itself to be the wisest for ns, and there is no need here of maintaining "an exaggerated armament." The nations of Europe, on the other hand, are "wearing themselves out faster than need be" with prodigious and costly military establishments, when the outlay might better be employed "in fostering the national vitality and bettering the condition of the people."

the condition of the people." Col. LUDLOW, however, thinks that the regular army has a valuable future in the Uuited States as a national police force, acting in strict conformity with existing laws, for the maintenance of the American system of liberty and government. He considers that the important lesson of recent times for all our people is the need of enforcing obedience to law, so long as it is law; and that principle is at the bottom also of military training. Still, with an adequate force of regulars for discharging the duties made incumbent upon the Federal Government by the Constitution, and with the voluntary training of the people in the rudiments of the military art through the militia, and through the instruction given by army officers at schools and colleges, we can safely continue a policy that presents so great a contrast to that of Europe.

#### PEACE OUR NATIONAL HOPE.

# ECRITARY HAY OPENN LRL. ROSTON CONGRESS.

<text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text>

at ac ucces-little only

from thes refers." ' the body of ' I am spent the homentabl do not accept hence that the we shall swee is this great de deliver recognize ul who yet t, and who this night day. How inplushed? ng to t stnie of N, or su

Toportal Sciences We have all recent section on way by G u split of nurvellous intely detached from cul compilions, speak it num could have ded num could have ded on uching heart, bis war, feeling that as derful which ubsa-politi-s been Hving , with ent of containing the second of the second secon

<text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text><text>

T(

<text><text><text><text><text>

# How the Churches Are Waging Peace

Resolutions and Statements of Religious Denominations and Christian Leaders Collected and Published by the Church Peace Union, the World Peace Foundation and the World Alliance for International Friendship, Through the Churches, on the Occasion of the Tenth Anniversary of the Outbreak of the World War-July 26-27, 1914

## Methodist Episcopal Church Declaration adopted May 24, 1924 by the General Conference

HE world is now open to a crusade for peace. War-weary nations everywhere are eagerly waiting. America should lead the way. The Nation and the Church can do now what they may never, never he able to do again. We set ourselves to create the will to peace. We recommend

We set ourselves to create the will to peace. We recommend that a prayer for peace be prepared and used at every communion service. Through its cducational program our church must do its full share to mould the present youth of all races into a peace-loving generation. We shall launch an aggressive campaign to teach the nature, causes and consequences of war. The glorification of war must end.

teach the nature, causes and consequences of war. The glorification of war must end. We set ourselves to create the conditions for peace. Selfish nationalism, economic imperialism and militarism must cease. We demand the establishment of the principle that conscription of wealth and labor unust be the counterpart of any future conscrip-tion of human life. As great odium must be put upon the war profiteer as is put upon the slacker. The protection of special privileges secured by investors in foreign lands has too often im-periled the peace of nations. This source of danger must be pre-vented. The rights of the smallest nation must be held as sacred as those of the strongest. We hold the cause of peace dearer than party allegiance and we shall tolerate no dilatory or evasive attitudes on the part of those who represent us.

we shall tolerate no dilatory or evasive attitudes on the part of those who represent us. We set ourselves to create organization for peace. Grateful to our Government for leadership in the movement toward reduc-tion of armaments and the promotion of tribunals for international arbitration, we insist upon a still more decided and aggressive policy in these directions. We urge the President of the United States to summon another Conference of the Nations for more drastic reduction of armaments. We likewise urge upon the Senate the immediate entrance of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice. The participation of the United States in a League of Nations will receive our active aid. We call upon all our people to support for public office men pledged to secure these ends. The ballot and other direct processes of democracy must now be employed in securing a warless world.

#### **Religious Society of Friends** Issued at the Philadelphia Yearly Meetings

The most pressing reform of our time is to addisin wat, and to establish exclusively peaceful means of settling disputes and promoting co-operation among the nations. These peace-ful means cannot prevail until the nations beat their swords into HE most pressing reform of our time is to abolish war, and

ful means cannot prevail until the nations beat their swords into plowshares and learn war no more. To accomplish these results the Christian Church in practice and profession must condemn the whole system of war unequivocally and finally, relying not upon armed preparedness, but upon the awakened conscience of mankind. Fellow Christians, we can scarcely exaggerate the loss and suffering of the Great War. There is a bitter Macedonian cry in our afflicted time for physical help and healing, but far more for the things of the Spirit—for faith and hope and love. What greater message of cheer and reconstruction could be brought to mankind today than the assurance that all who hear the name of greater message of cheer and reconstruction could be brought to mankind today than the assurance that all who bear the name of Christ in every land have solemnly resolved to have no part in war or in preparation for war, but henceforth to work unitedly for peace by peaceful means alone? Shall we not make this venture of faith together in the love that heareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things, and that never fails? Shall the torch of spinitual hearing he heare by the Church of the Shall the torch of spiritual heroism be borne by the Church of the living Christ, or shall leadership in the utter rejection of war pass from our hands to men of braver and truer spirit? Which Master shall we wbo call ourselves Christians be known by all the world to serve, the God of Battles or the Prince of Peace?

#### Congregational Church

#### Resolution adopted at the last Regular Meeting of the National Council

W E believe that the United States should either enter into the existing League of Nations, or find some more effec-tive way to take our part in bearing the burdens of the world, solving its desperate problems and promoting peace among

#### **Federal Council of Churches**

#### World Alliance for International Friendship

Statement issued to the Christian People of America, at Annual Meeting in Philadelphia, Pa., November 13-15, 1923

E, the 500 delegates assembled at the Annual Meeting of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches and representing, we believe, the convictions of the Church at large, desire to put ourselves upon record to the effect that the time has come for the United States to assume bold, confident leadership in the rescuing of our present civilization from chaos and in establishing a new world order based upon justice, co-operation and good-will. Selfish nationalism and the basing of our civilization upon force plugared us into 1014. The world is our civilization upon force plunged us into 1914. The world is rushing again toward the same precipice and our nation is doing nothing to avert the impending calamity. We argue details of covenants and who shall elect judges to a Court while Europe starves, selfishness rules, militarism rises again, gross injustices are practised, the nations arm, and force reasserts itself in the rule of

life. Against this isolation on the part of our nation we solemnly protest. We believe it un-Christian and we believe it makes of no effect the sacrifices of the boys whose idealism we have just been commemorating. We believe the time has come for the United States to lay aside all selfishness and timidity and take her place in the councils of the nations. We believe all problems, especially those we helped to create, in Europe and Asia, are OUR prob-lems, and our place is where they are being solved. We believe the United States has been called to serve the world, and should again manifest that sense of mission to which it rose in the war. again manifest that sense of mission to which it rose in the war. We deprecate and condemn all talk of "America first and only"

brotherhood and is inconsistent with the law of love. It alienates

nations which Christ seeks to unify in bonds of friendship. It enthrones hate and dries up the fountains of sympathy. It sets power above right. It creates burdensome debts. It is prodigal in

The true remedy for war is the gospel of Jesus Christ. The new birth by God's Spirit creates divine love within the soul of the individual. The law of God is thus written upon the beart.

its waste of life.

whether proceeding from the Senate or the market place. We be-lieve that upon America rests the obligation to co-operate in the high endeavor to save the world and build a new order wherein dwelleth victorements dwelleth righteousness.

To this end we demand, in the name of the American Church, that the Senate of the United States take immediate steps to make our nation a signatory power to the Court of International Justice. We respectfully petition the President of the United States to continue the crusade begun by our lamented President Harding to this great end. We believe, that, to stand outside the Court, violates our whole American tradition. We believe it also

violates the will of the American people. This act baving been accomplished, we call upon the Senate This act baving been accomplished, we call upon the Senate of the United States immediately to begin the study of bow the United States may find entrance into the League of Nations or find some substitute association to which the other nations will agree. The churches have stood for it from the beginning. They stood behind Mr. Wilson. When Mr. Harding became President they offered their support to him in a belief absolutely justified both by his words and those of his associates that America would take her rightful place in the family of nations. The Church's high expectations have not been fulfilled and we believe the Senate of the United States owes it to these millions of Christians to fulfill them. We cannot sit still and see the other nations of the world vainly striving to realize the common life while we stand apart and by our absence cripple their endeavor.

# Northern Baptist Convention

Milwaukee, June 1924

E record our profound conviction against war. It is de-structive of all economic, moral and spiritual values. A war of aggression is a direct contradiction of every princi-The greatest need of the world is accepance of the Lordship of Christ, by men everywhere, and practical application of His law ple of the gospel of Christ. It violates the ideals of peace and

We favor co-operation among the nations of the world to mote peace. No nation can live an isolated life. To attempt promote peace. to do so inevitably gives rise to complicated problems and leads to conflict in many forms. The good of all is the good of each, and the good of each is the good of all. Christ's law of service is and the good of each is the good of all. Christ's law of service is the key to all human progress. Nations as well as individuals are bound by that law. By obedience to it shall we hasten the com-plete realization of God's will among men and the fulfillment of the ideals of the great prayer which the Master taught us to pray: "Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as in Heaven."

#### **Presbyterian Church**

Declaration adopted by the General Assembly at Grand Rapids, Mich., May 26, 1924

THE Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. pledges all its ener-gies to the outlawing of war and to the hastening of the day when nations shall learn war no more. We refuse to believe that the wholesale slaughter of human beings upon the battlefield is morally any more necessary to man's highest development than ls killing individuals. We see in war's cruchties, made more terrible

We invite the co-operation of all Christendom in a determined effort to devise such complete machinery for peace as shall insure the settlement of all international controversies by reason instead

of force. To this end we favor participation by our nation with other nations in the Court of International Justice and the submission for judicial settlement, or the arbitration of disputes, and the investigation, before a resort to arms, of all differences which cannot be adjudicated or arbitrated, reserving the right to control our own destiny and to determine whether or not and when we shall declare war.

declare war. The moral influence of our nation, and the confidence of other nations in our disinterestedness, compcl us to assume leadership and take a definite part in the movement for world peace. We should endeavor to secure a joint agreement for international dis-armament and also for a referendum on war except in case of threatened invasion. We claim that those who are asked to fight and bear the burdens imposed by war should be consulted when possible before this sacrifice is required by them. We solemnly assert that the teachings of Christ furnish the only basis and hope of permanent peace and carnestly appeal to

only basis and hope of permanent peace and earnestly appeal to all branches of the Christian Church to unite in bringing mankind to an acceptance of Him in order to establish a universal brother-hood founded on righteousness, justice and peace. We enjoin upon the Boards and Agencies of our Church, particularly the Board of Christian Education, together with our ministers and members, to to be in accord with the will of God and in harmony with the teachings of our Lord and Master.

# **Reformed Presbyterian Church**

Resolutions adopted June 11, 1924, at National Synod

HEREAS, war is essentially and inherently a supreme violation of the teachings and spirit of Jesus; and, WHERE-as, it is ineffective as a means for building the Kingdom of God and is in its very nature self-defeating; and, WHEREAS, it has been amply demonstrated that preparedness for war is no guarantee of national security; and, WHEREAS, war as a method for securing national ends, however just and right, is anti-Christian; be it Resolved. be it Resolved:

I. That the Reformed Presbyterian Church in Synod as-sembled requests the Government of the United States to take immediate steps toward the outlawing of war as a legal and justifiable

II. That this Synod insist on the substitution of law and the processes of law for violence in the substitution of such disputes, and to that end, that the Senate and Cabinet be urged to take the steps necessary to make this country a member of the permanent Court of International Justice and of the League of Nations.

We favor this action, however, with this qualification, that we deplore the failure of these instruments to acknowledge the authorand law of Jesus Christ the Ruler of nations. and urge that this defect be speedily remedied.

III. That we demand the abandonment of economic imperial-

111. That we demand the abandonment of economic imperiations as a policy of this government and that we urge the calling of another conference for general disarnament. IV. That this Synod deplores the Japanese exclusion provision of the immigration law which is needlessly insulting to a friendly nation and is provocative of ill-will and possible war.

V. That a permanent committee of linewill and possible war. V. That a permanent committee of three be appointed by the Board of Foreign Missions to promote education on international relations in every local church and to co-operate with the commis-sion of international justice and good will of the Federal Council of Churches of Churche

VI. That this Synod endorses the International Ideals of the Churches

## **Protestant Episcopal Church**

Resolutions adopted by the General Convention, September, 1922

## Governor P. Baxter of Maine

WAGING PEACE

The United States is in the best position to initiate the movement to abolish war. Let America go after world peace and world peace can be achieved. Let us mobilize for peace. Let us make up our minds to do sane world thinking. Let us get busy and see what we can contribute to the League of Nations. Let American soldiers find plenty

Replies to Request from War Department to Assist in a "Mobilization Demonstration"

to do in the way of waging peace.

**Replies to Request from War Department I** AM told that the purpose of this day is to "enable our people to visualize the initial processes necessary to muster forces for National Defense," and as a "test of the workability of mobilization plans." The day selected is to be called "National Defense Day," or "Defense Test." There is an ever-growing demand among thoughtful and pa-triotic people of this and other nations that military armaments gradually and mutually be reduced. Certainly the tendency is in that direction and the outlook is hopeful. In view of this, at the present time I question the wisdom of observing "Defense Day," and of emphasizing the military power of the United States. The methy of the other nations through the proposed World Court, in-stead of by resort to war. A national mobilization of the armed forces of this country, in my opinion, well might be regarded by

forces of this country, in my opinion, well might be regarded by other nations as a threat, or at least a warning. It would afford them, should they seek it, an excuse for similar mobilizations. The race for supremacy thus might be begun anew, with another and far more terrible war as its result.

far more terrible war as its result. Against whom do we arm? Against whom are we to "defend" ourselves? The United States is complying with the terms of the naval reduction treaty, and the best authorities say that other nations are doing likewise. Great Britain has made a considerable sacrifice by curtailing the building of war vessels and by giving up her Singapore base project. Japan voluntarily has reduced her military forces and, in addition, has been crippled by serious dis-aster. Both these nations are friendly, as also are France and Italy. There is no "defense" problem involved in our relations with any of them. Russia and Germany, today, as military factors, do not concern us. In fact as long as we treat other nations as we ourselves would be treated, we have nothing to fear from any of them. With conditions as they are I think it unfortunate

Major General John F. O'Ryan.

for us to make a show of our military power, even though it be for "defense" only, for by doing so we may be placed in a false position and may cause our neighbors to distrust us. I believe in reasonable preparations for defense; have built up and encouraged the Maine National Guard; have consistently supported the Citizens Military Training Camp; have personally strended the annual generators of both these ourspications and attended the annual encampments of both these organizations; and fully realize the value of the training in better citizenship that is derived from them. Good citizenship includes the ability and will-ingness to defend one's country in time of need. I, however, do not believe in parading our strength to the world, or in calling attention to the fact that the United States is the most powerful nation.

The United States should take the lead in establishing world The United States should take the lead in establishing world peace. By example and precept we should show that we do not base our leadership on military power, but rather on our willing-ness to treat other nations fairly and justly. We should show the world that we intend to discard old methods, and should be careful not to "rattle the sabre" or have great military "days," as did Germany before the war. Such things are out of date. It well may be that other nations have not advanced to our high standard of interactional merclits, but we revet mercline that standard of international morality, but we must maintain that standard. Ultimately it is bound to win.

Instead of calling out our young men fully armed for war and making a display of "defensive" strength, would it not be more helpful to the cause of peace to have a "day" on which the whole nation would rise up and demand that the Senate adopt President Coolidge's World Court, a "day" on which the country would show that it will back our President in another limitation of Armament Conference, if he deems it advisable to call one? Such a "day" would be well worth while and would inspire confidence among all our neighbors.

From a Message issued in March, 1924

THE substitution of law, conciliation and arbitration for war in the settlement of international disputes is a matter of moral principle. But it is also vitally important that this principle be embodied in national legislative action. Cbristian citiprinciple be embodied in hardball registative action. Constant effi-zens have the right and the duty to inqure of those who represent them concerning their ideas and purposes regarding the outlawry of war, the substitution of law for war, and the embodiment in appropriate legislation of the etbical principles of the Kingdom of God in the relations of nations.

The war-system of the nations will be overthrown and a peace system established only when millions of men and women take vital interest in these questions, place them above party politics, and express their convictions in their votes. The time has surely come for the Churches as Churches to

organize and mobilize for constructive programs in the crusade to establish world peace. Let national conferences, assemblies and judicatories, and local bodies of every name—state and city, de-nominational and interdenominational—deal with these matters. Pastors should steadily hold them before their congregations.

Women's organizations, young people's societies, Sunday schools and groups of every kind should give themselves with utmost zeal to this crusade. All our Churches should become centers of accurate information on the bearing of Christian principles on international problems, centers of constructive programs for international righteousness and organized goodwill, centers of courage-ous antagonism to the war-spirit and the war-system, placing loyalty to Christ and His will above local prejudice, class jealousy, race hatred, partisan politics and narrow nationallsm. This message is an appeal for practical action.

#### President W. H. P. Faunce of Brown University

HE spirit of petty nationalism still keeps Europe torn and bleeding. That same spirit has led our own Congress in recent days needlessly to affront Japan, against the protest of our own President. And that affront, which has deeply hurt a sensitive and friendly people, is now followed by a call to observe a "mobilization day" in the month of September. On that day a hundred millions in a time of peace are to be invited to "visualize" the engines of war and all the preparations for actual slaughter. Will not Japan and all the nations of the world visualize that autumnal defiance? I wish that in the autumn we might mobilize all our resources for peace; that we might enable all nations to visualize our many treaties of arbitration, our ancestral faith in courts of law, our hope for the final federation of the world. Let every man be an ambassador of good will, speaking, whether by the fireside or from the housetops, in favor of law, not war, of reason in place of force, of the friendly hand in place of the mailed fist.

## **Evangelical Lutheran Church** Declaration adopted June 18, at Synod of New York and New England

HAT we believe that the United States should enter a Permanent Court of International Justice. That we petition the United Lutheran Church at its coming

convention at Chicago in October to use its Committee on Social and Moral Welfare, its Board of Education, its Church School and Parish Board and other agencies to create a better understanding of the consequences of war and to indicate the methods whereby peace may be maintained. That we petition the United Lutheran Chruch at its conven-

tion in Chicago in October to declare in favor of a Permanent International Court of Justice, and that we instruct the delegates from this Synod to use their influence to this end.

That we petition the United Lutheran Church to recommend to the next Lutheran World Conference to adopt a program of education and action so that the 80,000,000 Lutherans throughout the world may be united and led in a campaign against war.

That we recommend to the United Lutheran Church to consider the advisability of co-operating with other church bodies in a world-wide and determined endeavor to banish war and substitute peaceful means of settling international controversies.

THERE is one way and one way only to outlaw war. We must first establish a peace system. Mere disarmament by itself will not stop war. Only the firm establishment of the institutions and agencies of justice and of liberty under law, maintained by effective sanctions at the hands of law-abiding and peace-loving nations, can possibly banish war from this war-cursed world. The most urgent need of mankind is the speedy establishment of international institutions to assure equal justice, full security and fair economic opportunity for all nations alike. These are essential pre-requisites to permanent peace. . . . . . We believe that all nations should associate themselves per-

namently for world peace and good will. Resolved, That we solemnly commit ourselves as members of a Christian Church to use every consistent means to the end that war may be abolished, and that the Golden Rule may become the universal law of nations and people.

Carrying on this policy expressed by the General Convention, the House of Bishops of the Protestant Episcopal Church, meeting

in November, 1923, passed the following resolution: Resolved, That this House of Bishops is profoundly im-pressed with the serious and sinister condition of the nations in their relations with each other;

That the Church cannot permit war to remain the only method for the ultimate settlement of disputes between nations.

We are therefore of the conviction that it is the immediate and imperative duty of the United States Government either to join the existing League of Nations, or to proceed immediately to or-ganize some other effective association or Council of Nations for the purpose of settling amicably, international disputes, and thus save us from the great danger of another World War.

# ASTOUNDING FACTS!

ENTER ALL.

There is enough nicotine in the average cigar to kill two men.

Our annual tobacco expense would build four Panama canals.

A leech is instantly killed by sucking the blood of an habitual smoker.

In 1919, 1,901,200 acres of American land were used to cultivate tobacco.

Our annual tobacco bill amounts to twenty dollars per capita in America.

Insurance companies estimate one-third of all loss by fire to be due to tobacco.

Two thousand seven hundred Americans begin the tobacco habit each day.

Our tobacco bill is twice what it costs to maintain the United States government.

The tobacco habit was begun in America and has extended to every nation on earth.

In 400 years the tobacco habit has fastened itself upon half the population of the world.

In Russia, Turkey and Persia, the use of tobacco has been at times punishable by death.

Among 412 young men examined by the naval enlisting officer at Peoria, Illinois, 298 were rejected.

Babies have been killed by breathing the tobacco smoke with which a smoker filled an unventilated room.

In the United States, the manufacture of cigarets grew from fourteen billion in 1914 to fifty billion in 1920.

Dr. Clay reports the death of three children from the use of a tobacco poultice applied to the scalp for scald-head.

"Prussic acid is the only substance more poisonous than nicotine."—M. Orfila, President Paris Medical Academy. Clark College honors were granted in athletics and scholarship to smokers and non-smokers in the ratio of 16 to 58.

Scientific experiments at Ann Arbor found 24 to 44 per cent less work done by muscle during the smoking of a cigar.

At Columbia University 10 per cent of smokers failed to pass an examination in which 4 per cent of the non-smokers failed.

The ratio of the number of cases of color blindness in men to that of women is 50 to 1. Oculists says this is due to tobacco.

Tobacco has been known to produce a nervous condition similar to delirium tremens. Physicians call it tobacco tremens.

One person working steadily for one hundred years could not count enough silver dollars to pay America's tobacco bill for one year.

The new slogan of the Anglo-American Tobacco Company is: "A cigaret in the mouth of every man, woman and child in China."

Six Canadian insurance companies find the mortality rate of smokers to increase in about the same proportion as that of drinkers.

The Indians used to poison their arrows by dipping them into nicotine, thereby causing convulsions and often death from arrow wounds.

During nine years' study of students at Yale it was found that the lung capacity of non-smokers developed 77 per cent more than that of smokers.

Statistics indicate that 26,000 cases of pneumonia die annually in the United States, that would recover were the patient not addicted to tobacco.

Winston-Salem, a North Carolina city of about fifteen thousand, has a daily shipment of one hundred fifty thousand dollars worth of tobacco products. At Phipps Institute, records of post morten examinations show that tuberculosis is a little more than twice as prevalent among smokers as it is among non-smokers.

Statistics give the ratio of the number of smoking students having poor memory to those having poor memory who do not smoke as 38 to 1; lack of will power, 32 to 1.

The results of tryouts for football squads in a number of American colleges, selected at random, showed 33 per cent of tobacco users and 66 per cent of non-users.

In a certain school, ten boys making the highest grades averaged 90.9 per cent. Not one of these used tobacco. Among smokers, the ten who made the highest grades showed an average of 78.9.

In the classification of Yale students by grades, tobacco was used by 25 per cent of the class having the highest grades, 48 per cent of the second, 70 per cent of the third, and 85 per cent of the fourth.

To pack the cigarets upon which the United States government has received a tax, with no intervening space or substance, would require a box with a bottom as large as a forty-acre field, and a depth of thirty-four feet.

On page 65 of the Saturday Evening Post for April 12, 1919, is the concluding portion of a serial story. It comprises slightly more than one column, yet the subject of smoking by one of the leading characters is mentioned six times.

A procession of boats sufficient to carry America's tobacco crop for 1920, each boat carrying a ton, with the center of each boat 30 feet behind the center of the preceding boat, would extend from the source of the Missouri River to the Gulf of Mexico.

After disastrous results from permitting the use of tobacco by the cadets at West Point, in 1881, the authorities prohibited it altogether. Its use was afterwards permitted because the government found it impossible under present circumstances to control it. "Tobacco does much to undermine success. It is the entering wedge of two lines of dissipation, either of which may defeat. The first line is the dissipation of money for things unnecessary. The second is that of sense gratification."—Dr. W. S. Hall, Professor of Physiology, Northwestern University Medical School.

"With the idea of stimulating the raising of tobacco in West Virginia, John S. Linville, a successful tobacco planter of Lincoln County, has been appointed a special agent of the State Department of Agriculture. He will study methods in other states and make efforts to disseminate information regarding the cultivation and marketing of tobacco."—Charleston Gazette, April 22nd, 1919.

"If the same agricultural care were given to food crops that tobacco demands the yield per acre of food stuffs in this country would be three times as large as it is today. I give tobacco the credit for having compelled the practice of scientific agriculture. It so robs the soil that the highest skill is required to keep it fertile."—Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, Government Chemist, Washington, D. C.

"Tobacco does not aid digestion, prevent lean people from getting too lean, nor stout people from getting stouter. It does not preserve the teeth, does not cure asthma, indigestion or any other disease. It does not do any of the beneficent things it is popularly believed to do. But we positively know that it causes heart disease, disease of the nerves and mucous membrane, and that it diminishes the possibilities of recovery from any disease."—Dr. Matthew Woods, Philadelphia.

This tract is sent postpaid for \$1.00 per hundred.

#### by the

### NO-TOBACCO ARMY

1320 Western Ave.

N. S., Pittsburgh, Pa.

# The Percentage of Venereal Diseases Among Approximately the Second Million Drafted Men—By Cities

Examinations at Mobilization Camps showed that 5.4 per cent of these men had a venereal disease at time of examination upon arrival in camp. This percentage includes only obvious cases of syphilis, gonorrhea, and chancroid. Wasserman examinations were not given. Furthermore, this percentage does not include those who had been cured prior to the day of the examination or who may have become infected later. In this pamphlet, the record is given for most cities of the United States having a population of 30,000 and over, according to the 1917 estimate of the Bureau of the Census. The record for each city follows:

## Cities of 100,000 to 500,000 Population

#### 1. Cambridge, Massachusetts \_\_\_\_ 2.03%-2. Paterson, New Jersey 2.13 3. Worcester, Massachusetts..... 2.30 4. Providence, Rhode Island \_\_\_\_\_ 2.43 5. Fall River, Massachusetts \_\_\_\_\_ 2.44 6. Yonkers, New York2.447. Schenectady, New York2.48 Schenectrady, Tech Fork San Francisco, California 2.50 Milwaukee, Wisconsin 2.55 10. Jersey City, New Jersey\_\_\_\_\_ 2.5611. New Bedford, Massachusetts\_\_ 2.63 12. Hartford, Connecticut2.6613. Denver, Colorado2.71 14. Albany, New York 2.82 15. Portland, Oregon 2.96 16. Lowell, Massachusetts\_\_\_\_\_ 3.05 17. Salt Lake City, Utah 3.10 18. Lynn, Massachusetts 3.24 19. Trenton, New Jersey\_\_\_\_\_ 3.40 Scranton, Pennsylvania 20. 3.43 21. Rochester, New York3.5522. Spokane, Washington3.6023. Reading, Pennsylvania3.68 24. Bridgeport, Connecticut\_\_\_\_\_ 3.73 25. Oakland, California3.7726. Seattle, Washington3.83 27. St. Paul, Minnesota\_\_\_\_\_ 3.98 28. Minneapolis, Minnesota ..... 4.09 29. Newark, New Jersey ..... 4.23 32. Dayton, Ohio\_\_\_\_ ---- 4.74 33. Lawrence, Massachusetts \_\_\_\_\_ 4.78 34. Grand Rapids, Michigan ..... 4.78 35. Toledo, Ohio...... 4.83 Des Moines, Iowa 36. 4.8837. Youngstown, Ohio\_\_\_\_\_ 5.03 38. Cincinnati, Ohio 5.16 39. Omaha, Nebraska 5.28 40. Louisville, Kentucky\_\_\_\_\_ 5.30 41. Springfield, Massachusetts....6.1142. Camden, New Jersey......6.25 43. Kansas City, Kansas 44. Kansas City, Missouri 45. Washington, D. C. ----- 6.51 7.20 7.5346. Indianapolis, Indiana 47. Richmond, Virginia 9.18 9.24 48. New Orleans, Louisiana 9.29 49. Nashville, Tennessee\_\_\_\_\_\_9.6750. Atlanta, Georgia\_\_\_\_\_11.93 9.67 51. San Antonio, Texas\_\_\_\_\_12.23 52. Memphis, Tennessee\_\_\_\_\_13.26 53. Columbus, Ohio\_\_\_\_\_14.23 54. Dallas, Texas\_\_\_\_\_14.30 55. Houston, Texas\_\_\_\_\_17.16 56. Birmingham, Alabama\_\_\_\_\_18.57 57. Fort Worth, Texas\_\_\_\_\_18.67

#### Cities of 500,000 Population and Over

1.	New York City	2.44%	
2.	Boston, Massachusetts	2.57	
3.	Los Angeles, California	3.17	
	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania		
5.	Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	4.33	
6.	Cleveland, Ohio	4.44	
7.	Chicago, Illinois	5.71	
	Detroit, Michigan		
9.	Baltimore, Maryland	7.28	
0.	St. Louis, Missouri	8.58	

#### Explanation of Graph

Taking Newark, in the middle of the longer list as an example, out of every hundred draftees who arrived at the various mobilization camps to which they were sent, 4 on an average had a venereal disease. On a 10,000 basis, there would be 423 men with a venereal disease.

The figures here used were furnished by the Medical Records Section, of the Surgeon General's Office of the Army.

# Cities of 50,000 to 100,000 Population

1. Bayonne, New Jersey		~ <b>—</b>
2. Holyoke, Massachusetts	1.39	
3. Berkeley, California	2.32	
4. Lancaster, Pennsylvania	2.45	X
5. York, Pennsylvania	2.56	
6. Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania		
7. Portland, Maine		
8. San Diego, California		
9. Passaic, New Jersey		
10. Hoboken, New Jersey		
11. Troy, New York		
12. South Bend, Indiana		
13. El Paso, Texas		
14. Brockton, Massachusetts		
15. Sacramento, California		
16. Altoona, Pennsylvania		
17. Rockford, Illinois		
18. Covington, Kentucky		
19. Elizabeth, New Jersey		
20. Duluth, Minnesota		
21. Springfield, Ohio		
22. Peoria, Illinois		
23. Pueblo, Colorado		
24. Utica, New York		
25. Erie, Pennsylvania		
26. St. Joseph, Missouri		
27. Johnstown, Pennsylvania		
28. Wichita, Kansas		
29. Flint, Michigan		
30. Canton, Ohio		
31. Sioux City, Iowa		
32. Kalamazoo, Michigan		
33. Akron, Ohio		
34. Springfield, Illinois		
35. Binghamton, New York		
36. Terre Haute, Indiana		
37. Wilmington, Delaware		
38. Harrisburg, Pennsylvania		
39. Knoxville, Tennessee		
40. Evansville, Indiana		
41. Atlantic City, New Jersey		
42. Chattanooga, Tennessee		
43. Oklahoma City, Oklahoma		
44. Mobile, Alabama		
45. Norfolk, Virginia		
46. Little Rock, Arkansas		
47. Augusta, Georgia		
48. Charleston, South Carolina_		
49. Jacksonville, Florida		
50. Tampa, Florida		
51. East St. Louis, Illinois		
52. Savannah, Georgia	27.45	

# Cities of 40,000 to 50,000 Population

1. Racine, Wisconsin 1.15%	
2. Hamilton, Ohio 1.50	
3. Woonsocket, Rhode Island 1.62	
4. Salem, Massachusetts 1.64	
5. Pasadena, California 1.99	
6. Haverhill, Massachusetts 2.08	
7. Chelsea, Massachusetts 2.27	
8. Everett, Massachusetts 2.41	
9. Decatur, Illinois 2.55	
10. Perth Amboy, New Jersey 2.69	
11. Superior, Wisconsin 2.82	
12. Topeka, Kansas 2.96	
13. Dubuque, Jowa 3.46	1
14. New Castle, Pennsylvania 3.72	
15. Lincoln, Nebraska 4.19	
16. Lansing, Michigan	
17. Butte, Montana 5.70	
18. Chester, Pennsylvania 5.82	
19. Wheeling, West Virginia 5.93	
20. McKeesport, Pennsylvania 6.17	
21. Davenport, Iowa	
22. Huntington. West Virginia 8.25	
23. Lexington, Kentucky 8.52	
24. Roanoke, Virginia	
25. Charlotte, North Carolina11.03	
26. Galveston, Texas14.79	
27. Portsmouth, Virginia15.32	
28. Montgomery, Alabama15.96	
29. Macon, Georgia	

# Cities of 30,000 to 40,000 Population

1. Ja	amestown, New York	.80%	, <del></del>
2. W	altham, Massachusetts	1.02	
<b>3.</b> O	gden, Utah	1.13	
4. N	ewport, Rhode Island	1.33	
5. O	shkosh, Wisconsin	1.50	
6. Pi	ittsfield, Massachusetts	1.56	
7. N	ew Rochelle, New York	1.60	
8. M	ladison, Wisconsin	2.33	
9. A	msterdam, New York	2.98	
10. N	orristown, Pennsylvania	3.06	
11. Sa	an Jose, California	3.20	
12. Q	uincy, Massachusetts	3.29	
13. L	a Crosse, Wisconsin	3.32	
14. Z	anesville, Ohio	3.35	
15. Ja	ackson, Michigan	3.60	· · ·
16. C	edar Rapids, Iowa	3.67	
17. N	liagara Falls, New York	3.70	
18. W	Vatertown, New York	3.70 ·	
19. P	oughkeepsie, New York	3.75	
20. E	lmira, New York	4.02	e 0
21. A	urora, Illinois	4.07	1
<b>22.</b> E	aston, Pennsylvania	4.24	
23. N	lewport, Kentucky	4.67	
24. N	lewark, Ohio	4.87	
25. A	ustin, Texas	5.00	
26. A	uburn, New York	5.04	· · ·
27. B	Battle Creek, Michigan	5.24	
<b>28.</b> Q	Juincy, Illinois	6.17	
29. L	ima, Ohio	6.55	
30. L	ynchburg, Virginia	6.70	
	oplin, Missouri		
	Danville, Illinois		
	Vaco, Texas		
	Wilmington, North Carolina		
35. 0	Columbia, South Carolina	14.98	

## The Responsibility of Cities for Venereal Diseases in the Army

According to the statement of the Surgeon General of the War Department, venereal diseases constituted the greatest cause of disability in the army. For this condition, civilian communities have been responsible. Virtually all cases of venereal disease were contracted within communities over which civil authorities have control.

It will be noted that the percentage is much higher for the country as a whole than the percentage for the first million men. This is due to the fact that as a result of experience gained by the examining medical boards, the medical officers in the army were able to make more careful examinations of the second million men and to record more carefully diseases detected, than was possible at the time of the sudden mobilization of the first million men.

The army has done more than its part in combating venereal disease. Civit communities must continue the fight with vigor.

Reports from your city will be watched with interest by the nation at large.

Three per cent of the million draftees whose examination blanks first reached the Adjutant General's office in Washington had a venereal disease when they reported at camp.

The record for each state follows:

1. Oregon	0.59%	
2. Idaho	0.76	
3. Utah	0.79	
4. Washington	0.66	
5. Montana		
6. South Dakota	0.95	
7. California	1.15	
	1.21	
9. Wyoming	1.22	
	1.22	
11. Nevada	1.40	
12. Nebraska		
13. Vermont		
14. New Jersey	1.53	
14. New Jersey 15. Minnesota		
16. Connecticut		
17. Iowa		
18. Massachusetts		
19. Arkansas		
20. North Dakota		
21. New York		
22. Alaska		
23. Michigan		
24. Maine		
25. Colorado		
26. District of Col	2.14	
27. Kansas	2.38	
28. Illinois	2.44	
29. Pennsylvania	2.62	
30. Rhode Island	2.66	
31. New Mexico	. 2.68	
32. Delaware	2.78	
33. Ohio	3.24	
34. Maryland		
35. Indiana		
36. Louisiana		
37. Arizona		
38. Missouri		
39. Kentucky		and the second se
40. Tennessee		
41. North Carolina		
42. West Virginia		A COMPANY OF THE OWNER AND A COMPANY OF THE OWNER.
43. Mississippi		
43. Mississippi 44. Oklahoma		
45. Texas		Constant and the second strength
46. Georgia		
47. South Carolina		
48. Virginia		
49. Alabama		
59. Florida	8.90	

# Venereal Diseases and the War

According to the statement of the Surgeon General of the War Department, venereal disease constituted the greatest cause of disability in the army. For this condition, civilian communities have been responsible. Most cases of venereal disease in the army were brought in upon the induction of registered men. Virtually all cases were contracted within communities over which civil authorities have control.

The Army has done more than its part in combating venereal disease. Civil communities must continue the fight with vigor.

Reports from your state and city will be closely watched by Government officers and by the nation at large.

#### EXPLANATION OF GRAPH

Taking Maine as an example, out of every hundred draftees who arrived at the various camps to which they were sent, two (on an average) had a venereal disease. Out of every 10,000, there were 202 who had a venereal disease. It should be noted that these figures apply only to the million men whose reports first reached the Adjutant General's office from the various Camp Surgeons. Later reports may change these results.

The figures here used were furnished by the office of Surgeon General of the Army.